PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. I.

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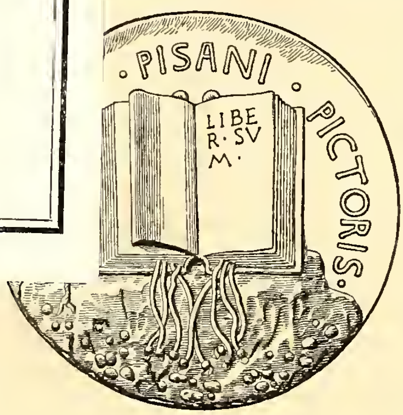

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The excavation of ancient sites, which has formed an important part of the work of the School at Athens, is excluded in Italy by the rules of the Italian Government. But in other respects the work of the Roman School will be more varied, and not less important, than that of the Athenian, since the range of studies which centre in Rome is wider, including for example Palæography, Christian as well as Classical Antiquities, and the Art and Architecture of the Renaissance.

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1902

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PREFACE.

THE title of this volume sufficiently indicates its character. The two monographs which it contains are the first fruits of the work done by the newly founded British School at Rome, and the hope of the Committee is that they will be followed in due course by many other similar papers, and will form a series not unworthy to be compared with the 'Mélanges' of the French School at Rome.

Of the two papers, that by the Director on S. Maria Antiqua will no doubt be found the most interesting by the majority of readers, but Mr. Ashby's possesses an importance of its own as a contribution to the task of reconstructing the Roman Campagna as it was before desolation and silence fell upon it.

Taken together the papers aptly illustrate the variety and richness of the field which Rome and Italy offer to the student, and suggest the kind of work which a properly equipped British School should be able to do for the advancement of learning.

H. F. PELHAM,
Chairman of the Committee.

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The Library of the British School at Rome, mainly thanks to the liberality of Dr. Steele, of the Trustees of the British Museum, of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of the French Ministry of Public Instruction, and of various publishers and other donors, is now approaching a total of one thousand volumes.

As the funds at the disposal of the School do not allow of the purchase of many expensive works of reference, the Committee have printed the following provisional list of books of that class which are urgently needed :—

Acta Sanctorum. 45 vols.
Annali, Monumenti, & Bullettino del Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica. 1829–1885.
Archaeologia. From 1804. 57 vols.

Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie. 2 vols.
Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Sculptur.
Brunet, Manuel du Libraire (and Supplement). 8 vols. (Paris, 1860–80).
Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana. Series I.–V. 1863–94.
Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. From 1872.

Canina, Edifizii di Roma. 4 vols.
Chatelain, Paléographie des Classiques Latins.
Cichorius, Reliefs der Trajanssäule.
Cohen, Médailles Impériales. 8 vols.
Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. Boeckh. 4 vols. And of the new issue, especially Kaibel, Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae.
Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn). 47 vols.

D'Agincourt, Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens. 4 vols. There are also editions in English and Italian.
De Rossi, Musaici Cristiani delle Chiese di Roma.
De Vogüé, Syrie Centrale. 2 vols.
Dictionary of National Biography.
Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis (1883). 10 vols.

Eckhel, Doctrina Numorum (2nd ed.). 8 vols.

Frazer, Pausanias. 6 vols.
Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen.

Geymüller, Projets primitifs pour St. Pierre.

Hain, Repertorium Bibliographicum. 4 vols.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. From 1880.

Le Bas, Foucart, and Waddington. Voyage Archéologique.

Mansi, Conciliorum Amplissima Collectio. 31 vols. Or the Edition of Labbe-Cossart.
Monumenti Antichi della Accademia dei Lincei. From 1892. 11 vols.
Monuments et Mémoires (Fondation Piot). 7 vols.
Moroni, Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica. 60 vols.
Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum. 28 vols.

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità. From 1878.

Omont, Fac-similés des Manuscrits Grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie.
Petersen, and others. Die Marcussäule.
Pistolesi, Il Vaticano Descritto. 8 vols.

Revue Archéologique. From 1860.
Rohault de Fleury, le Latran au Moyen Age.
,, ,, la Messe. 8 vols.
Römische Quartelschrift für Christliche Alterthumskunde. From 1887.

Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (3rd ed.).
Smith, Dictionary of Classical Biography.
,, ,, ,, Geography.
,, ,, Christian Antiquities.
,, ,, ,, Biography.
Stephanus, Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.

Ughellus, Italia Sacra. 10 vols.

Vasari, Vite (ed. Milanesi). 9 vols.

Zangemeister-Wattenbach, Exempla Codicum Latinorum.

July, 1902.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. I. NO. I.

THE CHURCH OF S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

BY

G. McN. RUSHFORTH, M.A.

Director of the School.

LONDON: 1902.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

In explanation of the fact, which might at first sight cause surprise, that a paper which consists mainly of a description of paintings is not accompanied by reproductions of the pictures themselves, it is necessary to state that the photographs and other methods by which the appearance of the paintings has been, so far as possible, preserved being the property of the Italian authorities, cannot be published until the official account of the excavations has been issued. The present description must be regarded chiefly as a contribution to our knowledge of Byzantine iconography as it was understood and practised at Rome in the eighth century. It may be added that the damaged condition of all but a few of the pictures makes a careful description almost as valuable for iconographical purposes as reproduction, and that their interest consists rather in the choice and treatment of subjects than in their artistic character.[1]

---

[1] Among those who have assisted me I feel bound to record my peculiar obligations to Comm. Giacomo Boni, the Director of the Excavations in the Forum, whose kindness and sympathy have in every way made my task easier, and also to the Rev. F. E. Brightman of the Pusey House and Mr. C. H. Turner of Magdalen College, Oxford, who took the trouble to look over the proofs, and to whom I am indebted for many suggestions and corrections. Their identification of the fragmentary Patristic inscriptions, and especially Mr. Brightman's discovery of the principle on which they were selected, which is important for determining the chronology of the paintings, may without exaggeration be described as brilliant. Mr. C. H. Blakiston of the British School at Rome has also given me much practical assistance which has contributed in no small degree to such accuracy and completeness as this account possesses.

INTRODUCTION.

THE present series of excavations in the Roman Forum, apart from the topographical importance of the results, will always be notable for the information which it has supplied about periods of which our previous knowledge was scanty. On the one hand there is the evidence which has come to light about the culture of the communities which first settled on the soil of Rome. And at the other end of the history of the Ancient City, the discovery of the church of S. Maria Antiqua has revealed to us the system on which an ordinary Roman church was decorated in the eighth century. That age, of the greatest historical importance, in which Rome emancipated herself from the Byzantine dominion and became the religious capital of the West, was one of the periods where we were poorest in all those kinds of evidence which are called antiquities. Rich as it was originally in contemporary monuments and treasures of art, the destructions and reconstructions which have gone on down to modern times, have obliterated nearly every trace of the outward appearance and surroundings of life in Byzantine Rome. It is on this, to us, mysterious world of the seventh and eighth centuries, so dimly revealed by the meagre historical literature of the time, that a welcome, if partial, ray of light has been shed by the discovery of S. Maria Antiqua. From the ruins of an abandoned church, which never knew the hand of a restorer, the religious interests and tendencies of the Romans of those days, their standards of art and the kind of pictures they were accustomed to see, their dress and personal appearance, their manner of burial, have been brought home to us more vividly than they had ever been previously.

Before proceeding to describe the remains, it will be desirable to sum up what we know of the history of the church from literary sources. At the same time we may note how far the remains bear out that history and in what respects they add to our knowledge. It is no longer necessary to refer to bygone controversies about the site and identity of the church, for an end was put to them by the discovery, on December 20th, 1900, of the inscription giving the name of the church, which will be described in its proper place.

The earliest mention of S. Maria Antiqua that we possess occurs in a list of Roman churches, which was made in the latter part of the seventh or at the beginning of the eighth century.[1] When we turn to the *Liber Pontificalis* we are met by a similar result. It is under John VII. (705-707) that the church appears for the first time, and then not, as is so often the case with such notices, in connexion with a restoration of the building, but with its decoration. *Basilicam itaque sanctae Dei genetricis qui Antiqua vocatur pictura decoravit.*[2] It is difficult to believe that the *Liber Pontificalis*, with its copious information about the ancient Roman churches, would have been silent about this one if it had existed very long before. If we ask whether the remains as now discovered throw any light on the origin of the church, the principal fact of which we have to take account is that it was established in an ancient building, probably of a public and secular character. Now the practice of converting disused public buildings into churches in the central parts of the City, and more particularly in the Forum and its neighbourhood, did not begin before the sixth century, and, generally speaking, not before the event which most definitely marks the end of the ancient world in Rome—the Byzantine conquest.[3] The earliest case is the foundation of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the Templum Sacrae Urbis by Felix IV. (526-530). The next is S. Maria Rotunda in the Pantheon, by Boniface IV. (608-615). Then comes S. Adriano in the Curia under Honorius I. (625-638). The conversion of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina into S. Lorenzo in Miranda no doubt belongs to the same age. With this antecedent probability that S. Maria Antiqua did not exist before 550 the remains are perfectly consistent. The earliest dated object which can possibly be connected with the church belongs to the year 572 (p. 108). Some detached architectural fragments may be rather earlier, but their relation to the church is uncertain. Everything else is later.[4]

---

[1] Printed by De Rossi in *Roma Sotterranea*, i. 143, from the MS. at Vienna (No. 795).

[2] *Lib. Pont.* i. 385. References to the *Liber Pontificalis* are given by the pages of the edition of Mgr. Duchesne (2 vols. Paris, 1886–1892).

[3] Duchesne, *Le Forum Chrétien*, 42.

[4] I lay no stress on the fact that S. Maria Antiqua was a *diaconia*, for there is no record of the date of its institution as such, and a *diaconia* was sometimes established in a pre-existing church. But it may be pointed out how consistent with the date assigned above to the church (or even a later one) are the conclusions of Duchesne with regard to the *diaconiae*, viz. (1) that they first make their appearance in the seventh century, and (2) that they are distinguished from the older presbyteral titles by their situation in the heart of the City and, frequently, in disused ancient buildings; both indications of a relatively late date: *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1887, 239–242.

There is, in fact, only one argument for ascribing to the church an earlier date than the sixth century, and that is its name. A church known in the seventh century as *Antiqua*, must, it is suggested, have already had a long existence, especially when we remember that one of the oldest churches in Rome, S. Maria Maggiore, was also dedicated to the Virgin, at least since the time of Xystus III. (432-440). Must not S. Maria Antiqua be older still?[1]

No arguments drawn merely from the name can have any weight against the facts stated above. That name, it must be confessed, has not been satisfactorily explained. The epithet "old" applied in this way to buildings is of course relative. The natural usage would be to call a church "Old St. Mary's" when a younger church of the same name had to be distinguished from it. But the difficulty here is that, as we shall see, "New St. Mary's" was the name of the church which replaced the older one in the ninth century. They never existed side by side.[2] The title, then, must distinguish the church in some way from the other dedications to the Virgin in Rome. The seventh or eighth-century list of Roman churches, to which we have already referred as containing the earliest mention of S. Maria Antiqua, begins with the following order: the Lateran Basilica, S. Maria Maior, S. Anastasia, S. Maria Antiqua, S. Maria Rotunda, S. Maria Transtiberis. Mgr. Duchesne has pointed out that while the list is naturally headed by the two greater Basilicas within the walls, followed by the Court Church or Chapel Royal of the Byzantine age, the order of the remainder is that neither of dignity nor of date. S. Maria in Trastevere existed at least since the middle of the fourth century, and it was a presbyteral title, whereas S. Maria Antiqua was only a *diaconia*. But the original name of the church beyond the Tiber was the *Titulus* or *Basilica Iulii* or *Callisti*. *S. Maria trans Tiberim* does not appear before the seventh century.[3] So that, if we were to assume (as we have shown that we are warranted in doing) that S. Maria Antiqua was founded in the latter half of the sixth century, we might suppose that the churches are given in the order of the dates when they were dedicated to the Virgin: viz. S. Maria

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[1] H. Grisar, *Civiltà Cattolica*, Jan. 1901, p. 232. O. Marucchi, *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, vi. (1900), 313.

[2] On the other hand, pilgrims who visited the Vatican Basilica in the eighth century passed from the shrine *sanctae Mariae quae antiqua dicitur . . . . ad sanctam Mariam quae nova dicitur.* De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* ii. p. 228.

[3] *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1897, 28 *sqq.*

Antiqua, and S. Maria Rotunda, *ab initio* in the sixth and early seventh century, and S. Maria in Trastevere on acquiring the title in the course of the seventh century. We might then go on to conjecture that S. Maria Antiqua was so called because it was the first church in Rome to be dedicated from the beginning to the Virgin, and this would imply that, until the creation of other churches with the same name, it was known as S. Maria simply. Unfortunately this is true of an older church, for when the Basilica Liberiana (S. Maria Maggiore) was reconstructed by Xystus III. (432–440), it was formally dedicated to the Virgin, as is shown by the contemporary inscription beginning:—

Virgo Maria tibi Xystus nova templa dicavi;[1]

and for long afterwards it was regularly described as *S. Maria* simply, because it was the only church in Rome dedicated to the Virgin. By the seventh century, on the other hand, it always has the qualification *Maior* or *Ad Praesepe*, because it had then become necessary to distinguish it.[2] Unless then we can accept the incredible suggestion that a public building, probably part of the Imperial Palace, was converted into a church, and that church dedicated to St. Mary, before the second quarter of the fifth century, we are apparently brought to the conclusion that S. Maria Antiqua was not so called because it was the oldest dedication to the Virgin in Rome. No other plausible explanation has been offered.[3]

From the *Liber Pontificalis* we learn something about the history of the church in the eighth and ninth centuries, and we are able to supplement these notices from the remains which have now been discovered. As we have already mentioned, it is with John VII. (705–707) that our information begins. He stands out in a dark age as the author of various artistic works in Rome, of which the most important were the mosaics of the Chapel of the Virgin in St. Peter's, now scattered or destroyed.[4] His Life tells us that, among other churches which he adorned with pictures, *basilicam sanctae Dei genetricis qui Antiqua vocatur pictura decoravit, illicque ambonem noviter*

---

[1] De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* ii. p. 71.

[2] Duchesne, *l.c.* p. 30.

[3] Duchesne (*l.c.* p. 29) makes two suggestions: (1) That the name refers to the *diaconia* as being, presumably, the oldest: but we know nothing about its precise date. (2) That it belongs to a picture in the Church, citing a statement of the *Liber Pontificalis* (i. p. 419) that Gregory III. encased in silver *imaginem sancte Dei Genetricis antiquam*. So Grisar, *Civiltà Cattolica*, March, 1901, p. 738. But the *Liber Pontificalis* gives no clue as to where the picture was.

[4] *Lib. Pont.* i. 385.

fecit.[1] We shall see what is left of these works when we come to describe the remains (p. 65). The Life, continuing, tells us a fact which explains the interest taken by John in an otherwise not very important church. *Et super eandem ecclesiam episcopium quantum ad se construere maluit, illicque pontificati sui tempus vitam finivit.* John was the son of a Byzantine official, Plato, the curator of the Imperial Palace at Rome, and after his father's death in 687 he placed an epitaph over his tomb in S. Anastasia, which contained the following lines :

Post ergo multiplices quas prisca palatia Romae
praestiterant curas, longo refecta gradu,
pergit ad aeterni divina palatia regis
sumere cum meritis praemia firma Dei.[2]

The staircase restored by Plato must not be confused with the incline communicating with the church (p. 21), which could not well be described as *gradus*. It refers no doubt to the long flight of steps which can still be traced descending from the northern angle of the Palatine to the Forum. It is possible that John may simply have restored and enlarged his father's house, when he is said to have built himself a private residence (*episcopium quantum ad se*) at this corner of the Palatine.[3] In any case the proximity of the church, with the convenient access provided by the incline above mentioned, and the special devotion to the Virgin of John, " the servant of Mary," as he calls himself on his monuments (p. 91), are amply sufficient to explain his interest in S. Maria Antiqua.

But though John VII. may have been the first to decorate the church as a whole, the remains show (p. 67) that the Sanctuary at least had not been left bare before his time. Moreover, as we shall see (p. 72), this earlier series of paintings contains an important piece of evidence as to its date. Four Fathers of the Church are represented with quotations from their works ; and, given the circumstances of time and place, we can hardly doubt that they have been selected because they were cited as witnesses to the Orthodox Faith at the Lateran Council of 649 which condemned the Monothelete heresy. It is difficult to believe that John VII. would, about the year 706, have replaced these pictures by others if they had been very recent, and we may therefore suppose that they were executed shortly after the Council, say between 650 and 655. But we shall find (p. 67) that these paintings of the middle of the seventh century had themselves been substituted for an earlier series. Now if the pictures of the middle of the seventh century were replaced after about fifty years by the work of John VII., and if the latter was partly replaced in its turn, as we shall see (below and p. 73), again after an interval of fifty years, it seems not unreasonable to find in this regularly recurring interval of time a clue to the approximate date of the earliest decorations of the church, which must have followed, though perhaps not immediately, on its foundation.[1] And this will take us back to the year 600, which is not very far removed from the date which, on other grounds, we had already suggested for the foundation of the church.

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[1] *Lib. Pont.* i. 385.

[2] De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* ii. p. 442, l. 9.

[3] Cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 156, where the references are given.

To return to the later history of the church, from about the middle of the eighth century onwards a new series of decorative works, in part replacing those of John VII., was carried out in different parts of the building. One portion of these is distinctly associated with an official of the *diaconia*, Theodotus, in the time of Pope Zacharias (741–752); and another with Paul I. (757–767). It is also possible, as we shall see (p. 103), that Hadrian I., the greatest benefactor to the Roman churches at the end of the eighth century, did not forget S. Maria Antiqua, though the "Book of the Popes" contains no record of the kind. With Hadrian's successor, Leo III. (795–816), we get another historical reference to the church, for his Life tells us that he placed there *super altare maiore cyburium ex argento purissimo pens. lib. CCXII.*[2] About fifty years later the church had been abandoned. The first we hear of the change is under Benedict III. (855–858), whose Life informs us that he bestowed various gifts *in basilica beatae Dei genitricis qui vocatur Antiqua, quam a fundamentis Leo papa viam iuxta Sacram construxerat.*[3] It is obvious that this cannot refer to the church under the Palatine, which has never been reconstructed and is not on the Via Sacra. In the life of Benedict's successor, Nicholas I. (858–867), we get the explanation. *Ecclesiam autem Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae que primitus Antiqua nunc autem Nova vocatur quam dominus Leo IIII. papa a fundamentis construxerat sed picturis*

---

[1] Cf. the case of S. Maria Nova mentioned below; built before 855, not decorated before 858.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* ii. 14.

[3] *Lib. Pont.* ii. 145. There is no mention of the fact in the Life of Leo IV.

eam minime decoraverat, iste beatissimus praesul pulchris ac variis fecit depingi coloribus.[1] S. Maria Nova is the church, better known by its modern name of S. Francesca Romana, overlooking the Forum, and built in the precincts of the Temple of Venus and Rome. It appears then that, for some reason, in the time of Leo IV. (847–855) the *diaconia* of S. Maria Antiqua was transferred to a new building on the Via Sacra, where it still preserved its name until perhaps popular usage demanded that the new structure should be called S. Maria Nova. What that reason was, the condition of the church revealed by the excavations of 1900 sufficiently declares. It was crushed and buried by the fall of the Imperial buildings overhanging the church on the north-western edge of the Palatine. It is improbable that after the disappearance of the Byzantine power in Rome in the course of the eighth century those buildings were kept in repair, so that natural decay would be enough to account for the result. But it is perhaps more than a coincidence that in 847, under Leo IV., Rome suffered from an earthquake of peculiar severity. *Huius beati tempore praesulis terre motus in urbe Roma per indictionem factus est X. ita ut omnia elementa concussa viderentur ab omnibus.*[2] Though the church was abandoned, its burial was probably not immediate or complete.[3] Everything valuable in the way of furniture and fittings was removed, and little was left beyond the pictures on the walls, which have thus survived to show us, in spite of their damaged and fragmentary condition, the manner in which a Roman church was decorated in the eighth century. The outer hall or vestibule did not at first share the fate of the church, and certainly remained in use till a much later period, as is shown by fragments of painting which it contains (pp. 99, 101.) But the rise in the level of the floor, and the desperate attempts to prop up the vault (p. 106), show that here too occupation was maintained with increasing difficulty. Perhaps we shall be safe in dating the final burial of the whole structure from the fire which devastated this part of Rome on its capture by the Normans in 1084, an event which marks the disappearance of the ancient levels in the Forum and its surroundings.[4]

It may be well to conclude this sketch of the history of S. Maria by a few words about the more recent churches which existed in the same neighbourhood. Even since Duchesne's convincing statement of the evidence,[1] attempts have been made, in the light of the new discoveries, to connect these later names with a tradition of the buried building, in our judgment quite without success.[2] There was no need to preserve a tradition of the church, for it existed bodily on its new site. S. Francesca Romana, and not (till the other day) S. Maria Liberatrice, is the modern representative of S. Maria Antiqua. The Einsiedeln Itinerary, of the ninth century, is the last document which notices the church in its original position.[3] When we come to the twelfth century, the guide book known as the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* has the following account of the buildings in this district. *Palatium Catiline, ubi fuit ecclesia S. Antonii, iuxta quam est locus qui dicitur infernus.* The latter is explained by the story of the *lacus Curtius*, and then the account continues: *ibi est templum Veste ubi dicitur inferius draco cubare, sicut legitur in vita S. Silvestri.*[4] If we could be sure that by the *palatium Catiline* the Temple of Augustus was meant, we might suppose that the first statement was a genuine tradition of the use of the outer hall as a church after the original S. Maria Antiqua had been destroyed. As we shall see, there are remains of late painting with the story of St. Antony in this part and, perhaps, in the adjacent building (pp. 95, 113 n.), and Greek monks perhaps continued to occupy the interior of the Temple of Augustus which communicated with it. In any case, it is clear that by the twelfth century there was no longer a church of St. Antony in existence. Quite distinct from this, though not far off, was a spot popularly connected with the legend of St. Silvester, and known as *Infernus* or "Hell." Duchesne has shown how the scene of the original story of the dragon of the Capitol in the fifth-century Life of Silvester, was, by a misunderstanding, transferred in the Middle Ages to the Temple of Vesta under the Palatine.[5] The legend bore fruit, for in a fourteenth-century catalogue of the Roman churches we hear for the first time of *S. Maria de Inferno*,[6] and this church continued to exist under its more modern name of S. Maria Liberatrice until it was removed for the purpose of making the present excavations. It is not till even later (the sixteenth century) that *S. Silvester in lacu* makes its appearance.[1] Perhaps, as Duchesne suggests, it was never a separate church, but only a popular name for *S. Maria de Inferno*, and a survival of the legend which had become attached to the spot.

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[1] *Lib. Pont.* ii. 158.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* ii. 108. The tenth indiction ended on Aug. 31st, 847.

[3] Perhaps this accounts for the repetition in the outer parts of the church of paintings found also in the interior (cf. esp. p. 110).

[4] Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 245.

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[1] *Mélanges*, 1897, 15 *sqq.*

[2] *E.g.* Marucchi, in *N. Bull. Arch. Cr.* vii. (1900), 319; Grisar, *Civiltà Cattolica*, March, 1901, 736 (suggesting that the picture described below, p. 102, marks the site of *S. Silvester in lacu*).

[3] Jordan, *Topographie*, ii. 655; Urlichs, *Codex Topographicus*, 75.

[4] Jordan, *Top.* ii. 635.

[5] *Mélanges*, 1897, 13, *sqq.*

[6] MS. at Turin. Printed in Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 53.

Let us now consider, as briefly as possible, how the discovery of the church has added to our knowledge of the times to which it belongs. Those times, it is needless to insist, were distinguished by the prevalence of Byzantine influences in Rome. Greek officials, Greek clergy, Greek monks, Greek residents, contributed to form, as it were, a Byzantine army of occupation; they invaded the churches and even the Papal Chair, and naturally they brought with them the ideas, the language, the culture of Constantinople, the capital of European civilisation.[2] And the first impression which the interior of S. Maria Antiqua makes on an observer familiar with the older Roman churches, is that of the prominence of things Greek. Greek inscriptions, Greek costumes, Greek saints, meet the eye everywhere. And it is not merely that S. Maria reflects the contemporary Byzantine influences in Rome generally. We must remember that it is structurally connected with the Palatine, the seat of the Byzantine government; that it is a stone's throw from S. Anastasia, the official Byzantine church, and on the edge of the Greek quarter, which had its centre in the not far distant church of S. Maria in Cosmedin.[3] Brought thus by the circumstances of both time and place within the range of Byzantine influence, the church was decorated in that style of art which is most conveniently and correctly described as Byzantine. But a closer acquaintance with the pictures shows us that this is Byzantine art with a difference. Just as, politically, the Rome of the seventh and eighth centuries was dependent on Constantinople and yet successfully struggling for independence, so the wall paintings of S. Maria Antiqua show us a Byzantine art transplanted to the West and acquiring something of a local character in consequence. It must not be supposed that this partial independence implied any fresh artistic impulse: quite the reverse. Centuries had to elapse before a true Italian art could arise, and in the age with which we are concerned Rome was far inferior in culture to Constantinople, and S. Maria was, after all, a church of secondary importance and therefore hardly likely to contain the best work of the time. We must rather look for this local character in the elementary nature of much of the art in the church, in the simplicity and *naïveté* of some of the representations, in the introduction of a certain number of local saints, in the use of Latin alternating with Greek in the inscriptions, and a Latin which is popular and the product of the soil. And further, this independence manifests itself in the general decorative treatment of the church, and the selection and distribution of subjects. Previously our knowledge of art in Rome between the sixth and the tenth centuries was derived almost entirely from the mosaics which have survived in the sanctuaries of a few favoured churches, and here the limited scope and the uniformity of the subjects rendered the information rather barren. S. Maria was not a church of sufficient importance to receive the most costly form of decoration, viz., mosaics; but, on the other hand, in its wall paintings we have, for the first time, a suggestion of the scheme for the complete decoration of an ordinary Roman church in that age. A comparison obviously suggests itself with the scheme laid down in the well-known Byzantine Manual or Guide to Painting which, though its present form does not go back beyond the twelfth century, probably embodies an older tradition.[1] While S. Maria contains much which is explained or illustrated by the Manual, it is also clear that the decoration of the Roman church represents partly an earlier stage of development when there was greater liberty in the choice of arrangement of subjects, partly an entire departure from the principles on which the Byzantine scheme is based. The difference between them is one which essentially distinguishes the churches of the East from those of the West, both in decoration and in internal arrangements. The typical Byzantine church forms a unity in which every part is subordinate to the whole, and the pictorial decoration is equally based on a single and consistent scheme. In plan, S. Maria, as we shall see presently (p. 23), curiously resembles a Byzantine church, and its walls were completely and, to a considerable extent, so far as we can judge, systematically treated with painting. The Western mediaeval church, with its independent chapels and side-altars clustering round and sometimes even invading the central nave and choir, and making any uniform system of decoration impossible, is the very opposite. S. Maria Antiqua is in process of transformation from an Eastern into a Western church. To start with we have a Byzantine plan and Byzantine consistency of decoration, at least in the main parts of the church. But it is clear that the unity both of arrangements and of decoration is giving way to a different conception. Just as in a Byzantine church, we find the *bema*, where the altar stood in front of the apse, flanked by the liturgical chambers known as the *prothesis* and *diaconicon*; but of the latter, one at least had become by the middle of the eighth century a side-chapel of the Western type with its own altar, and dedicated to the cult of special saints. And in other parts of the church the uniformity of the original scheme of decoration has been broken into by the construction of altars, sometimes enclosed by screens which practically create separate chapels. The base of one may still be seen placed against the wall in the body of the church (p. 36), and the frequent occurrence of niches, containing painted figures of the Virgin or Saints, suggests the presence of others.[1] In another respect S. Maria Antiqua has not yet reached an important Western development. Next to the side-altars the most striking features in a mediaeval or modern Italian church are the sepulchral monuments. By the eighth century, as we shall see, the dead had invaded even the innermost parts of the church, but in nearly every case they were laid out of sight beneath the floor, and no memorial, except no doubt an epitaph, marked their graves. It is obvious that it was impossible in churches decorated after the Byzantine fashion with a complete decorative scheme covering the whole surface of the walls, to introduce architectural monuments which would have destroyed the connexion. At the very latest stage of the history of the building, perhaps as late as the eleventh century, we see the beginnings of the abandonment of the principle, when *loculi* were cut in the side-walls, and therefore in the midst of the painted surface, which had then to be re-arranged so as to leave room for the painted epitaph which covered the recess (p. 101). But in the period with which we are chiefly concerned, when the church was still intact and in use, we see that while the most illustrious dead were buried in ancient marble sarcophagi, often of an elaborately decorative character, and, in one case, of Christian design, their tombs were concealed beneath the pavement just as much as the bodies of less distinguished or wealthy persons which were consigned to brick graves. We must descend four or five hundred years later—to the dawn in fact of the Renaissance—before we find an appreciation of the decorative character of such objects. In the thirteenth century the noble families of Rome still procured costly ancient sarcophagi to form their tombs, but now they are above ground, and exhibited so as to show their decorative features, forming part of an architectural sepulchral monument which takes its place among the ornaments of the church.[1]

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[1] Jordan, *Topographie*, ii. 500; Duchesne, *l.c.* 17. If it were not for the difficulties of date, one might have been inclined to look for *S. Silvester* in the building (L on the plan: cf. p. 108) between the entrance to the church and the Lacus Iuturnae.

[2] Diehl, *Études sur l'Administration Byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne*, 241 *sqq.*

[3] Diehl, 278.

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[1] First published by Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne* (Paris, 1845). English translation by M. Stokes, *Christian Iconography* (London, 1891), ii. 265 *sqq.* There is also a modern Greek edition (Athens, 1885).

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[1] The multiplication of altars in this period is illustrated by the inscription of Gregory III. (731–741) in St. Paul's without the Walls, regulating the oblations at the six daily masses. De Rossi, *I.C.R.* ii, p. 423, n. 41. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 169, and *T.* iii. 3.

The subjects of the pictures fall into two classes, figures of saints, and scenes illustrating a story. Nothing could bring before us more clearly the extent of the Greek religious influences in Rome at this time than the spectacle of this array of Eastern saints, some of whom had preceded though most accompanied the conquerors of the sixth century. Many of them have made a permanent place for themselves in the Western calendars, and others, though not so popular, are still common to the Greek and Roman Churches.

But some who are prominent in S. Maria, were forgotten as time went on, and their names no longer figure among the saints of the modern Roman Church. Abbat Cyrus in particular enjoyed a special popularity in Byzantine Rome, and there were at one time five churches or chapels under his patronage, though he has been almost completely forgotten since the Middle Ages. It is significant that he appears no less than four times in S. Maria, twice associated with his companion John. Among these Greek saints we look almost in vain for any who are distinctive of the West, and even of Italy. There are indeed a few local Roman saints, and Augustine appears as one of the Fathers, but practically there is only one important exception to the monotonous procession of Eastern personages. It is a significant one, both for the time and place—the canonized Popes. Gregory the Great[2] and Martin I. are the most recent. The latter, the martyr of Western orthodoxy, had been dead barely half a century when his image was painted on the walls. Truly the Roman Church of the eighth century, for all the Byzantine atmosphere by which it was surrounded, was not ungrateful to the champions of its independence.

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[1] Cf. p. 93.

[2] But see p. 31.

The manner in which the saints are represented is purely conventional. They are classified according to their rank or calling, and then represented uniformly in the costume appropriate to the class—ecclesiastics in their vestments, laymen in the official dress of the period. The only method of distinction is by differences in physiognomy, and here it is remarkable to notice how often the individual types agree with the rules of the much later Byzantine Manual.[1] Evidently those rules, in this respect at least, were known in the eighth century. What distinguishes broadly these representations of saints from those of Western mediaeval art, is the absence of the general method of identification in the latter, the emblem. In S. Maria Antiqua, Clement is almost alone in appearing with an emblem, in his case the anchor.[2] The important class, in Byzantine hagiology, of medical saints is also represented holding appropriate objects, but these are rather in the nature of indications of the profession to which the saints belong than personal emblems.[3] In the same way the censer carried by St. Stephen (p. 79) merely suggests one of the ritual duties of the deacon, and is therefore only official. For the rest, the conventional costume, the traditional physiognomy, and the name, suffice.

The scenes from the Old and New Testament History must have been derived from a series of illustrations similar to those which appear in Greek Bibles.[4] They do not, however, present any very direct analogies with these, though the designs show the same general character. The story of SS. Quiricus and Julitta, elementary as is the execution, was probably in the same way derived from an illustrated Greek manuscript. Here the treatment of the scenes presents various points of contact with the pictures in Byzantine Menologies (p. 54).

When we come to consider the artistic character of the paintings it would be perhaps dangerous, in view of the relative unimportance of the church, and also of the ruined condition of all save a few of them, to make deductions of too sweeping or too dogmatic a character. But this much seems to be clear. While all the paintings, from the circumstances of both time and place, must be described as Byzantine, some of them—notably those of the Sanctuary and central part of the church (pp. 64, 85)—have an unmistakable affinity with the Roman art of classical times, not only in types and treatment, but also in method and technique. There is nothing surprising or new in this, for Byzantine art was but the continuation of the artistic traditions of the ancient world. The later pictures, consisting mainly of the figures of saints, where the method of representation was conventional, belong to a different sphere; and the character of these figures with their hard outlines, their stiff attitudes and fixed expression, approaches more nearly to what is generally understood by the Byzantine style.

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[1] It is unfortunate that Miss Stokes, in her translation of Didron, omitted this part of the Manual (*Christian Iconography*, ii. 378).

[2] St. Peter appears regularly with the key at an even earlier period. The only representation of him in S. Maria is too ruined to show whether he had it here.

[3] See pp. 78, 79, 98.

[4] *E.g.* the well-known Greek Bibles in the Vatican Library (746, 747).

Why should we look beyond Italy or Rome for the artists who executed these paintings? S. Maria Antiqua, even after John VII. took it under his patronage, was never a church of sufficient importance to command the services of the Greek artists of Constantinople. Moreover Rome, even at this time, was too large a city, and the demand for decorative work, especially in the churches, too frequent for us to imagine that the artists had always to be brought in from outside, whenever such undertakings were in progress. Some, no doubt, of the local Roman artists belonged to the Greek colony, and their number may have been increased during the Iconoclastic persecution in the East, which lasted through the middle of the eighth century. It might even be suggested that in S. Maria we can distinguish their work from that of native Roman painters by the Greek inscriptions which accompany some of the pictures; though many of the inhabitants of Rome at this period must have been bilingual. On the other hand it is difficult to believe that any but Italian hands were concerned with the paintings in the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta. Our conclusion then will be this: The art that we see in S. Maria Antiqua is Byzantine, for that is the art of the age; but at the same time it is local and the work of local artists, whether they were native Romans, or Greeks who had made a new home in Rome and succeeded in becoming as good Romans as John VII. himself.

In one respect these pictures have a special interest for English people. They belong to, and are probably typical of, an age when England was in process of receiving a new ecclesiastical culture and discipline from Rome, and when, therefore, the relations between them were peculiarly intimate. And further, if in that age Rome was dominated by the Byzantine element, we may remember that it was just this Byzantine element which took an important part in the ecclesiastical settlement of England. Archbishop Theodore was a representative of the Byzantine colony in Rome, and he and others would naturally carry with them to England not only the learning and ecclesiastical discipline, but also the ecclesiastical art with which they were familiar. But we are fortunate in being able to point to a definite instance of such an importation of Romano-Byzantine art into England still nearer in date to the pictures of S. Maria Antiqua. When Benedict Biscop returned from his fifth visit to Rome in 678, among other things which he brought back for the benefit of his church at Wearmouth were designs for pictures with which to decorate the walls. We are told that figures of the Virgin and the Apostles occupied the vault (perhaps the apse is meant), the Gospel history the northern wall, and the visions of the Apocalypse the southern.[1] Here we evidently have a church completely and consistently decorated with paintings after the Byzantine fashion. Again, after another visit to Rome in 684, Benedict brought back more pictorial designs, of which a series of the Life of Christ was destined for Wearmouth, while at Jarrow the Old Testament types were placed beneath the Gospel scenes which they illustrated; Isaac carrying the wood for the sacrifice below Christ carrying the cross, the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness below the Crucifixion.[2] We cannot doubt that these scenes also occurred in the series of Old Testament types in S. Maria Antiqua, the fragments of which will be described in their proper place.[3] And as we look at the latter we may feel some confidence in thinking (and the same thing is true, generally, of all the pictures in the church) that the subjects reproduced on the walls of the church in the North of England were derived from a similar, perhaps from an identical, series, and were closely related to them in style and treatment.

On its abandonment in the ninth century, S. Maria Antiqua was so completely stripped of its movable fittings that it has little to tell us about its ritual arrangements. So far as can be seen they must have followed the regular pattern which is represented for us to-day in such churches as S. Clemente and S. Maria in Cosmedin. Nor is there much that is new to be learnt from the pictures about such matters. Perhaps the most curious feature which appears is the use of votive candles (p. 51).

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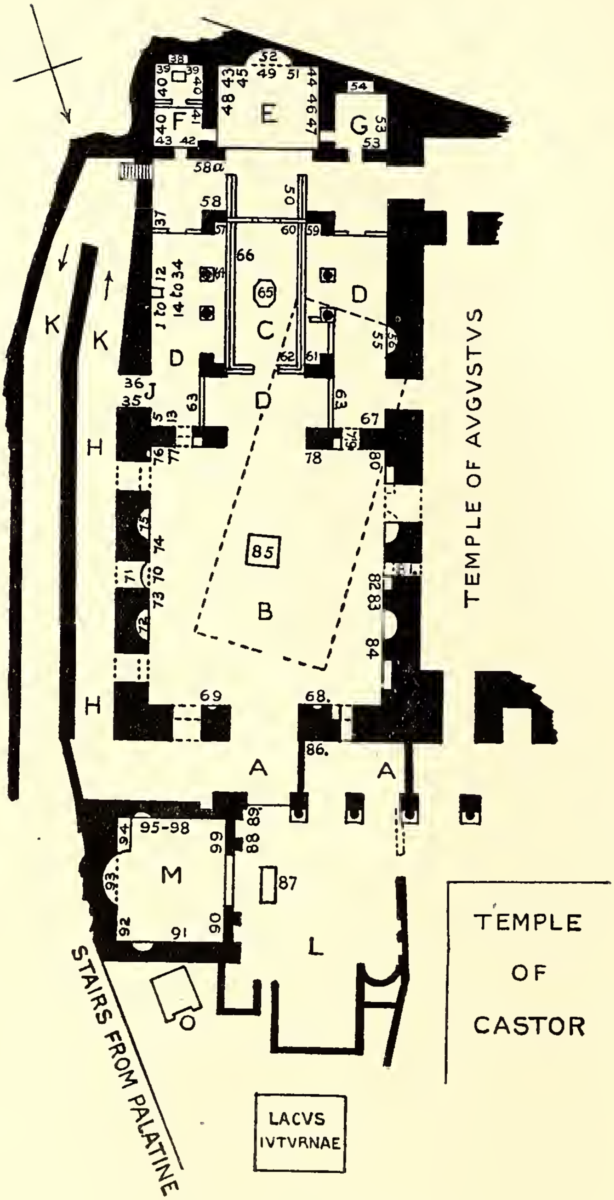
[1] Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 6, ed. Plummer (vol. v. of Works, ed. Migne, p. 718).

[2] Bede, *l.c.* 9 (p. 720).

[3] pp. 63, 87, 88.



PLAN OF S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

We have already alluded to the manner in which S. Maria Antiqua reflects the political and social conditions of the time and place. Can we similarly trace the effects of the great religious controversies of the age in the pictures which adorn its walls? Iconoclasm, indeed, must have left things in Rome much as they were, and the paintings executed in S. Maria in the middle of the eighth century are to be regarded as ordinary works of continuation and restoration rather than as a protest against the Iconoclastic Emperors. The theological struggle of the previous century, on the other hand, has left a definite mark on the Church. As we shall see, the triumph of Roman orthodoxy at the anti-Monothelete Lateran Council of 649 was commemorated in the paintings of the Sanctuary executed about that time; and when the same part of the church was decorated by John VII. on a more elaborate scale, but probably with the same intention, Martin I., who had presided at the Council, and subsequently paid for his protest with his life, took his place in the monument then erected to the orthodoxy and independence of the Roman Church.[1]

DESCRIPTION OF S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

I.—The Original Building.

As it is not our present object to discuss the origin and purpose of this building, which was afterwards converted into a church, but only to describe those features of it which are necessary for the understanding of the subsequent arrangements, it will be sufficient here to state that it completes the vast brick structure known as the Temple of Augustus, by filling up the space between the back wall of the temple and the steep north-west face of the Palatine hill. The various parts of the block condition one another, and belong to a single plan; and the date of its construction is the reign of Hadrian.[2]

Passing the Temple of Castor on the right and the fountain of Juturna on the left we reach the entrance of the newly discovered building. This entrance, as will be understood from what has been said about the situation of the building, is in a wall which is an extension of the northern side of the Temple of Augustus, though of much lower elevation. The whole façade in this direction was covered, in its lower portion at least, by a *porticus* (A)[1] of brick piers, worked into engaged columns on their outer face. Passing under this porticus we enter, through a wide opening, a large hall (B), at the further end of which is a corresponding door. The vaulted roof has entirely disappeared, and the only original feature which has survived is the treatment of the side-walls with large niches, alternately rectangular and semicircular. Rectangular niches of similar size fill up the spaces in the end-walls, on either side of the great doors. After the building had been converted into a church, passages were cut through the walls below these, so that there were three doors at either end of the hall. Proceeding through the central and original opening, at the further end we reach what was evidently a *peristylium* or cloistered court (C). The open space in the centre is enclosed by a colonnade (D), originally covered by a barrel vault (now restored), and supported at the angles on four substantial brick piers. At the two ends of the court these were united by arches,[2] and at the sides by arcades, originally of brick piers, leaving three openings on either side. At a later time, perhaps, when the building was converted into a church, these piers were removed and replaced by granite columns with marble Corinthian capitals, taken of course from some older building.[3] The bases of the brick piers have, however, survived, and tell their own story. The farther end of the peristyle from the entrance opens into three rooms, the largest of which, in the centre (E), is of nearly the same width as the court, while those which flank it (F, G), correspond to the breadth of the peristyle. These rooms are of great height, barrel-vaulted, and lighted, in the case of the two outer ones, by windows in the entrance wall, high above the level of the vaulting of the peristyle. They communicated with one another by doors pierced in the side walls. The great central room was, apparently, quite open in the direction of the court, from which it was only separated by the peristyle. The upper part of the opening, however, above the roof of the peristyle

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[1] See pp. 62, 72.

[2] The unity of the plan and the conditions of the site are conveniently brought out in Figs. 47 and 48 (published of course before the recent excavations) of Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations*, pp. 121, 123.

[1] The letters and numerals in brackets refer to the plan, p. 18.

[2] The further one has been restored.

[3] The arcade has been restored, the arches being united to the capitals by means of the splayed impost blocks (*pulvini*) which came into use in Italy in the course of the fifth century (G. T. Rivoira, *Origini della Architettura Lombarda*, 24). The restoration is certain, as the spring of the arch had survived on the angle piers.

must have been closed by a screen of some kind, which served the purpose of a window. The back wall of this chamber was excavated after the building became a church so as to form an apse roughly corresponding in height to the arch of the peristyle opposite to it. Previously a rectangular niche seems to have occupied the centre of the space.

The portico through which the building was entered, turns the left corner of the façade, and is continued along that side which is nearest to the Palatine in the form of a barrel-vaulted corridor (H). Three openings were made into it in the Byzantine period by cutting through the wall below the rectangular niches in the great vaulted hall. But where the corridor reaches the peristyle, with which it communicates by a large and original doorway placed in the north-east angle of the latter (J), it begins to ascend by a regular incline (K), and returning upon itself when it had reached a point corresponding to the end of the peristyle, continues to ascend until it meets the long flight of stairs which unites the north-west angle of the Palatine with the Forum.

The incline and the corridor have a flooring of *opus spicatum* in brick. Considerable remains in the peristyle and court show that these were also paved in the same way. The original decorations of the building, no doubt in the form of marble incrustations, have entirely disappeared.[1] As we know that in cases where ancient buildings converted into churches were decorated in this way, either simply, as in the Pantheon, or with secular and even pagan subjects, as in the Templum Sacrae Urbis (SS. Cosma e Damiano) and the Basilica Junii Bassi (S. Antonio Abbate),[2] the original decorations were retained, we must assume that in the present instance they were not removed to make way for the wall-paintings with which the walls were covered, but had either perished previously, perhaps by fire, or at least had fallen into a ruinous and fragmentary condition.

It is obvious that this building presents the essential features of the plan of a Roman house. A *vestibulum* leads to an *atrium*, on the further side of which (as *e.g.* in the so-called house of Germanicus on the Palatine) three rooms open—a *tablinum* in the middle, with smaller chambers on either side. Fig. 1, taken from a fragment of the ancient marble plan of Rome, shows how common this arrangement must have been. But it will be noticed that the plan of the building, with which we are concerned, being on a much larger scale than that of an ordinary house, suggests a public rather than a domestic purpose. There are the elements of a house, but not the details. As in the Flavian Palace on the Palatine there is a vestibule, with which we may compare the so-called Throne Room, an atrium with a peristyle and a great room beyond, and that is nearly all. The Flavian Palace was rightly described as *aedes publicae*,[1] for it was all staterooms. And taking into account its plan and situation, the newly discovered building may have had something of the same character.

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[1] The fragments of a marble skirting in the sanctuary perhaps belonged to this original wall-lining. I am informed by Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley that at the beginning of the excavation of the church, in March, 1900, when the observer stood close under the barrel-vault of the sanctuary, abundant traces of mosaic could be seen on the latter, though little except the bedding of the tesserae remained. This, too, must have formed part of the pre-Christian decoration of the building.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 28; *Ruins and Excavations*, 215.

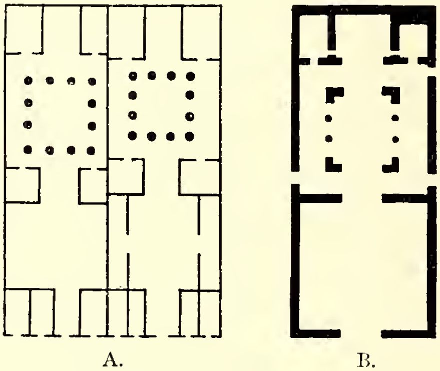

FIG. 1.

A. Roman houses from the Capitoline Plan. (Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, xxxiii. 173.)
B. S. Maria Antiqua. The Roman building.

As we have said before, it is not our object here to decide what was the original purpose of this building. But one consideration may be mentioned, for it is not without importance for the history of the church. The determining feature appears to have been the incline which connects it with the Palatine. The door (J) in the corner of the peristyle, from which the ascent begins, suggests that the whole served as a State entrance to the Palatine, brought down to the level of the Forum. We are told that Caligula made an approach to his Palace somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Castor;[2] and though the building in its present form cannot be his, it might well be a reconstruction by Hadrian of an arrangement of such obvious convenience. Whoever may have been the originator of this extension of the Palace to the Forum, there was a time when the site was laid out in a very different way. Below the floor of the Hadrianic hall or vestibule there has come to light a large tank or *piscina*, originally, and still in part, paved and lined with marble ; its sides treated with a series of shallow recesses, alternately rectangular and curved. Set at a very different angle from the later building, it was allowed to remain, except where it interfered with the foundation walls of the latter. Its length is determined by the remains of the flight of steps descending into the water, which have been discovered between the wall and the first column on the right of the peristyle, and exactly correspond to that which has been preserved in the middle of the end near the entrance.[1] The springs for which this district is famous are sufficient to explain the origin of the *piscina*, but of its history we are ignorant. It appears to belong to the first century of the Christian era.

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[1] Plinius, *Panegyricus*, 47.

[2] Suetonius, *Caligula*, 22: *partem Palatii ad Forum usque promovit, atque aede Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, &c.*

Such being the building which was converted into a church at some time, as we believe, after the middle of the sixth century, a casual observer might fancy that it was far from being well adapted for such a purpose. If the peristyle, as might have been expected, was to form the atrium of the church, the limited space of the tablinum was all that remained available for the church proper. Yet if we are to believe that the earliest Christian places of worship in Rome were private houses, the same conditions must have occurred in the *ecclesia domestica* of pre-Constantinian days. It might even be suggested that the tradition or survival of such arrangements may have made the conversion of the present edifice more natural than we should otherwise have thought. But if we are correct in the date which we have assigned to the foundation of the church, viz. the period of the Byzantine occupation of Rome, a more important and more probable consideration presents itself. Superficially, as we have said, we might fancy the building ill adapted for conversion into a church. To the Byzantines of that age the very contrary would appear the fact, for its plan is precisely that of the type of Byzantine churches which are dominated by the central principle (Fig. 2).[2] There is a narthex, there is the central space surrounded by an aisle, and beyond there is the Sanctuary flanked by its *prothesis* and *diaconicon.* The central space, indeed, in a Byzantine church would be covered by a dome, whereas here, apparently, it was open to the sky. But if S. Maria was established by Byzantines or by those who were subject to Byzantine influence, the ground plan of this Hadrianic building must have appealed to them as peculiarly suitable for the ecclesiastical arrangements to which they were accustomed; and we may well suppose that the coincidence had an important influence on the foundation and site of the church.

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[1] The original outline of the piscina is indicated on the plan by dotted lines.

[2] I have to thank Cav. G. T. Rivoira for permission to reproduce the plan of S. Sophia at Salonica from his *Origini della Architettura Lombarda*, Fig. 104, p. 70.

However this may have been, the conversion took place in the following manner. The tablinum, with the addition of an apse, apparently not till the middle of the seventh century (cf. p. 67), became the Sanctuary, and an enclosed choir, after the fashion of that which still exists at S. Clemente, was constructed in the central space of the court, corresponding to the width of the arches which united the angle piers of the peristyle. There is nothing to show that this space was ever roofed over. Its use as a choir and its painted decorations would seem to imply some covering. On the other hand a roof would have deprived the rest of the church of nearly all its light. The entrance hall was treated as the atrium or narthex of the church, as is shown by the extensive burials which took place within it.

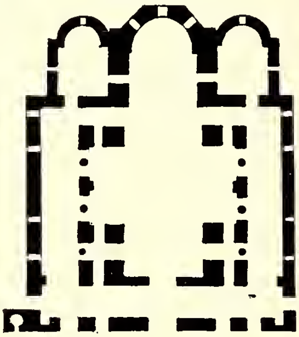

FIG. 2.—S. SOPHIA, SALONICA.

In every part of the interior the wall surface, together with the piers and columns of the peristyle, and the choir and other screens, was covered with decorative painting. We will now proceed to give a description of these remains and of such other objects as exist, starting with the church proper, and turning to the left on entering from the atrium or vestibule.

II.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH.

The outer wall of the peristyle on the left was covered with four tiers of painting, distributed as follows. At the bottom was a dado painted to represent hangings. Above this was a row of full-length saints, facing the spectator. The two upper tiers contained in oblong panels the Old Testament history beginning with the Creation.

The latter have only survived, in an intelligible form, on that part of the side wall which is beyond the door (J) leading to the ascent to the Palatine. At this point, on the first or upper row, the story has reached the scene of the animals entering the Ark. The series must, therefore, have begun immediately to the left of the main entrance, and even so there is not room for more than eight scenes in which to represent the history from the Creation to the construction of the Ark. As the fragments of painting on the opposite side of the church belong, apparently, to a New Testament series, we must suppose that the story on the upper tier did not run continuously round the church, but when it had reached the end of the left wall returned at once to the starting point on the left of the main entrance.

The first trace of any scene that has survived on the upper tier is to be found on the left wall beyond the side door (J). The upper and larger part of the scenes on this tier has in every case disappeared, and with it the explanatory inscriptions. What can be made out is as follows:

Of the first scene (1)[1] only the lower right-hand corner is preserved and shows a dead or sleeping figure. This scene was presumably the eighth from the beginning, and corresponds to the fourth scene on the lower tier (Joseph in the pit). It may be noted that the panels on the two tiers exactly correspond. As the following scene shows the animals entering the Ark, this was probably the murder of Abel.[2]

(2) From the left a lion (?) and a serpent approach the Ark, and the hind quarters of a third animal are seen within the door. Three draped figures approach it from the right.

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[1] The numbers in brackets indicate the position of the pictures, &c. on the plan.

[2] This is the sequence, *e.g.* in the Byzantine Manual. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 268.

(3) The Deluge. Conventional representation of the sea. The upper part would have shown the Ark.

(4) Two draped figures facing towards the centre. Probably Noah's Sacrifice (Gen. viii. 20).

The plaster has entirely disappeared beyond this, but the series stopped here, as is shown by the arrangement below (p. 37). Coming now to the second tier, the faint traces of the scene to the left of the door (J) show (5) on the left, a figure in a short tunic moving to the right. In the middle a draped figure turned in same direction. Possibly the Sacrifice of Isaac. Immediately to the right of the door the series continues. Here for the first time we get the inscriptions, which are painted in white letters across some vacant space of the background. They give a short description of the scene beginning with *ubi*, perhaps derived from the ἔνθα or ἐνταῦθα with which the descriptions of the miniatures in Greek Bibles (*e.g.*, Vat. Gr. 746, 747) are introduced. The names of the principal persons are also generally inscribed perpendicularly beside them.[1]

(6) Very little remains. Jacob asleep on the ground. To the right *i*ACO*b*. Probably Jacob's dream at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 11 *sqq.*).

(7) Left, Jacob, with his name inscribed beside him, apparently kneeling before an angel who stretches out his right hand towards him. Right, buildings, perhaps the gate of a city. Further to the left are remains of the inscription, too fragmentary to be read with certainty. All that can be seen now appears to be,

COB
A I \
M A GEL
BEN DI
T V R

Probably the scene represents Jacob demanding a blessing from the angel with whom he had wrestled at Peniel (Gen. xxxii. 24 *sqq.*), and the description may be conjecturally restored: [*Ubi Ia*]*cob* [*luct*]*atu*[*r*] [*cu*]*m a*[*n*]*gel*[*o*] [*ut*] *ben*[*e*]*di*[*ca*]*tur*.[2]

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[1] It may be mentioned here with regard to the inscriptions throughout the church, that fragmentary letters are generally printed as complete when there can be no question about their identity.

[2] This is the form of the description which accompanies the scene in the twelfth-century mosaics of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo, though the representation is rather different. The same scene at Monreale has: *Iacob luctavit cum angelo. Angelus benedixit ei dicens*, etc.

(8) Only the right half of the scene is left. A draped figure, seated, turned to the right, raises his right hand towards a youthful figure in a short tunic coming from the right, also with his hand extended. The persons, as the gestures show, are speaking to one another, and the scene is, no doubt, Joseph telling his dreams to his father and brethren. The latter were probably standing behind the seated figure of Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 10). The inscriptions have gone with the upper part of the picture.

(9) Joseph sold to the Midianites (Gen. xxxvii. 28). Left, six men draw Joseph (IOSEPH to the left of his head) out of the mouth of a circular well. In the upper right-hand corner a figure, standing beside a loaded camel, extends his right hand towards the group, above which is inscribed,

ubi ioseph \ENVNDATVS EST NEG\
in egypt O · A FRATRIBVS SVIS[1]

The last letter preserved on the first line appears to be the left stroke of a V, and there is only room for one more. The word was probably *negus*, i.e. *negotiatoribus*. The slight traces of the letter before O on the second line suggest T. *In Egypto* would be for *in Egyptum*, like *in carcere* in the next scene but one (11).

(10) Double panel. (*a*) Left. Joseph is sold to Potiphar. Left, a personage in Byzantine official costume, extends his right hand towards Joseph (with name inscribed) who, also with raised right hand, is put forward by a taller figure in a short tunic with his hand on Joseph's shoulder. The inscription is gone.

(*b*) Right. Joseph tempted by Potiphar's wife. Left, Potiphar's wife with her hand on Joseph's shoulder, who escapes from her towards the right. Behind them is a bed, and in the background a gabled house. The beginning of the description is damaged, and the restoration is doubtful. It appears to read,

////// Γ D IOSEPHCONCVPIBIT
EVM

i.e. perhaps, *ubi uxor d(omin)i Ioseph concupivit eum.*

(11) Joseph committed to prison. Left, Joseph (with name inscribed)

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[1] The phraseology appears to be derived from the Vulgate. Gen. xxxvii. 27 : *melius est ut venundetur Ismaelitis.* 28 : *et praetereuntibus Madianitis negotiatoribus.* 36 : *Madianitae vendiderunt Joseph in Egypto.*

is led by a man who points with his left hand to the prison on the right. At a window in its side two heads appear. Above, to the left, is written

VBI IOSEPH DVCITVR
I N CARCERE

(12) Pharaoh's feast (Gen. xl. 20–22). Left, on a square table, a circular tray, in the middle of which is a large bowl with square platters (?) round it. At the table three persons are seated. Behind the one on the extreme left is inscribed perpendicularly on the frame of the panel, REX FA*ra*O. The person to the right takes the cup from the chief butler who holds a long-shaped bottle in his left hand. Behind the group is a gabled building. To the right, the chief baker is represented hanging on a pole, his hands tied behind his back. Above is inscribed

VBI R*e*BERS*u*SIT
INOFFICIO
V

There is no room for anything more at the end of the first or at the beginning of the second line. The interpretation may be: *ubi reversus it* (? *iterum*) *in officio suo.*[1]

These scenes are in general too faint to allow of much discussion of their artistic character, apart from the subjects. The latter were no doubt ultimately derived from some MS. series of Biblical illustrations. So far as it is possible to judge from their present condition, the comparatively rude and simple character of the painting, the large round heads and short bodies, not to speak of the characteristic Latin inscriptions, indicate the work of a local artist. As we shall see later by comparison with dated work in another part of the church, they are probably not earlier than the middle of the eighth century. It may be added that while personages such as Noah and the aged Jacob are fully draped in the classical style, the youthful and inferior persons wear a short tunic and hose with a red stripe down the front of each leg. The officials appear in the Byzantine official costume of tunic and chlamys fastened on the right shoulder and adorned in front with the square panel called the *tablion.*[2]

Immediately below the Biblical scenes, forming part of the same scheme of decoration, and executed at the same time, is a series of full-length figures of saints standing facing the spectator, in front of a high red dado finished with a band of yellow. The background above this is dark blue, with a broad band of red at the top. The names are inscribed beside the figures perpendicularly in Greek, each preceded by Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ. The beginning and end of each name is marked by a sign like a comma or the *spiritus lenis*, which is sometimes of importance in determining the initial letter of a fragmentary name.[1] The saints are ranged on either side of a seated Christ placed opposite to the space between the two columns of the peristyle. The series was continued to the left of the side-door (J), and probably also along the wall which divides the church from the vestibule. Our description begins, as usual, from the left.

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[1] Cf. Gen. xl. 13: *dabisque ei calicem iuxta officium tuum sicut ante facere consueveras.*

[2] Of this contemporary dress, regularly used here and in other monuments of the epoch, in representations of official persons and lay saints, there are familiar examples in the well-known

To the right of the side-door into the vestibule there were probably two figures, but nothing is left except a portion of the frame or border which enclosed the picture. To the left of the door (J) leading to the incline, the first definite traces appear. A pair of saints occupied the space, but little more than the nimbi round their heads can be seen. The first (13) was, apparently, a beardless figure. On either side of his head is inscribed Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ | ʼΜΑ//Α◠. After the last letter, which appears to be a Ϲ, the plaster has fallen away. Of the costume nothing has survived to give a clue to the name. The letters which remain seem to agree best with that of Mamas or Mammas, a martyr of Caesarea in Cappadocia under Aurelian, who had a considerable notoriety in the West as well as in the East.[2]

Of the second figure the only remains are the nimbus with Ο ΑΓιος to the left.

To the right of the door (J) the first figure is (14) a beardless saint, in Byzantine official costume (white tunic and chlamys with blue tablion), holding a small cross in the right hand and a crown in the left (*i.e.* a martyr). Of the name only the termination ΟϹ remains. There is not

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mosaic of Justinian and his Court at S. Vitale, Ravenna. On this, and on ecclesiastical costume generally, see Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 521; Wilpert, *Gewandung der Christen;* and the convenient summary in Lowrie's *Christian Art and Archaeology* (1901), 383.

[1] The sign also precedes the names and descriptions in the Old Testament scenes above.

[2] Sept. 2nd in the Greek Calendar. *Martyrologium Romanum*, Aug. 17th. The Byzantine Manual according to Didron (324) represents him as "jeune, imberbe." Ruinart (*Acta Sincera*, ed. Ratisbon, 1859, p. 306) gives the references to him by Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, and an account of his cult in Gaul. One might have thought that a church dedicated to him was indicated by the *S. Mamiatus* in the list of Roman churches given by Cencius Camerarius, as published by Mabillon (cf. Armellini, *Chiese*, 43), the form being similar to that of *Cosimatus* from *Cosmas*. But the only MS. of authority (Riccardi, 228) has *Mannatus*. P. Fabre in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1887, 454 n; cf. 434.

room for more than three or four letters before it. We will postpone for the moment the question of its possible restoration.

(15) A bishop, with short beard, holding a book with both hands. He is vested in a dark blue chasuble, under which the dalmatic appears, and the sacred pallium hangs round his shoulders. ΓΡΙΓΟΡΙΟϹ. Presumably St. Gregory the Great (590–604). He appears in both the Eastern and Western Calendars (March 12th.).[1]

(16) A saint, with short beard, represented in precisely the same manner as (14). The surviving letters of the name are ’ϹЄↄ‾ which, taken in connexion with the representation, may be restored with certainty as ϹЄΡΓΙΟϹ. Sergius and Bacchus, martyrs of the Diocletian persecution, commemorated on Oct. 7th in both the Eastern and Western Calendars, had a decided popularity in Rome from the Byzantine period onwards, and three or four churches were dedicated in their honour. As they never occur singly, we may feel some confidence in restoring the fragmentary name of (14) as ΒΑΚΧΟϹ or ΒΑΧΟϹ, which fits the lacuna. Strzygowski has pointed out that their distinctive badge is the metal ring worn round the neck.[2] We may suppose that this indicates the fact that they belonged to a corps of the Imperial Guards, for in the Acts of their martyrdom Sergius is described as *primicerius et princeps scholae Gentilium*, and Bacchus as *secundicerius*.[3] A closer examination of the remains of the painting before us shows that Sergius certainly had the ring round his neck, for it appears clearly above

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[1] His cult was in existence in the time of Gregory III. (731–741), whose brief regulating the services in St. Paul's without the Walls, mentions the *quarta missa ad scm. Gregorium ad ianuas.* Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 169, T. iii. 3. It was recognised in England soon afterwards at the Council of Clovesho (747). Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, &c.*, iii. 368.

[2] *Orient oder Rom*, 124, Figs. 47, 48. The heads in the former are very close in style to the saints in S. Maria Antiqua, but, as in the Byzantine Manual (Didron, 322), both are beardless. See also *Archaeologia*, lvii. (1900), 159, and Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum* (1901), No. 398.

[3] *Acta SS.* Oct. vol. iii. 839. In the *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. Seeck, p. 31) we find *sub dispositione viri illustris magistri officiorum, Schola Gentilium seniorum* and *iuniorum.* They belonged to the *Scholae Palatinae* (Ammian. Marc. xiv. 7). Strzygowski, who repeats the incorrect form Κεντιλίων for Γεντιλίων, an error long ago pointed out by the editor of the *Acta SS.*, says that the ring is the sign "ihres adeligen Ranges" (*l.c.* 126). But, inasmuch as it is worn by all the guardsmen in attendance on the Emperor, *e.g.* in the relief on the base of the obelisk of Theodosius at Constantinople (d'Agincourt, T. x. 7), on his *clipeus* at Madrid (Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, i. Fig. 438), and in the mosaic of Justinian at Ravenna (Garrucci, iv. T. 264, i. Hodgkin, *Invaders*, iv. Frontispiece), it is clear that it is not a distinction of the officers but a badge of the corps; and I would suggest that it is the barbarian *torques*, alluding to the fact that, as the name shows (*gentiles* = *barbari*), these Guards were, originally at least, not Romans.

the folds of the chlamys. In the case of Bacchus, where the painting is fainter, it is less obvious, but still unmistakable.

This grouping of SS. Sergius and Bacchus on either side of Pope Gregory must have had some meaning at the time when the painting was executed, but the explanation is not obvious. The date of the introduction of the cult of the saints at Rome is not known; but, as we learn from Gregory of Tours,[1] it was established in Gaul in the sixth century, and, possibly, Gregory the Great may have founded their first church in Rome. The first Pope whose name appears in connexion with theirs is another Gregory—the Third (731–741). The *Liber Pontificalis* tells us that he rebuilt on a larger scale their church near St. Peter's.[2] Can it be that this is the Gregory represented in S. Maria Antiqua? Like Martin I. and Zacharias, he was no doubt regarded as a saint by the time when these pictures were executed in the latter part of the eighth century.[3]

(17) This figure is much damaged, but it is clear that he is an old man with a short white beard and bare feet, wearing the classical costume of a dark blue pallium over a long red tunic. The traces of the position of his right hand seem to show that he was holding a book. Of the name only the first letter is preserved, C; it is followed by a mark which can hardly be anything else but the transverse stroke on the apex of an A, which appears in other cases. The next saint throws some light on the identity.

(18) A figure much better preserved than the last, and apparently represented in precisely the same manner; *i.e.* his feet are bare, he wears a dark blue pallium over a red tunic, and he holds a jewelled book. The head is that of an old man with a long white beard. The name is complete, ЄVΘVMIOC. The representation, which is the traditional one in Byzantine art,[4] shows that this is the famous Palestinian Abbat (377–473), described in the Greek Calendar as ὁ Μέγας (Jan. 20th). As the personage of (17) is represented in the same manner, we must look for him in the same class of monastic saints, and it now becomes clear that the name is to be restored as CABBAC.[5] Sabbas or Sabas (Dec. 5th in both

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[1] *Hist. Franc.* vii. 31. *Gloria Mart.* i. 96.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* i. 420.

[3] Commemorated on Nov. 28th, only in the Calendar of the City of Rome.

[4] Didron, 330. With regard to the dress, see p. 35. Though the monastic saints in the eleventh-century mosaics of the Church of St. Luke of Stiris are represented in regular monastic habits, it is to be noticed that, as here, their under-garment is red (Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, 51 *sqq.*)

[5] Cf. the representation in the Church of St. Luke of Stiris, where they occur in the same group (Schultz and Barnsley, 53). "St. Sabbas has a curiously trimmed, short white beard, and

Calendars) was a disciple of Euthymius, with whom he is thus naturally associated, and moreover his name is connected with a famous Greek monastery on the Aventine.[1]

(19) An ecclesiastic (short beard) vested in a yellow chasuble, and holding a book. ΑΒΟVΝΔΟC. This must be the presbyter Abundius, who belongs to a group of martyrs of the Diocletian persecution, buried in the cemetery of Theodora near Rignano, some fifteen miles from Rome. His appearance here is curious, for there are no traces of his popularity at Rome in this age, and the translation of the relics from their original resting place was not earlier than the eleventh century. The 'Acts' of the martyrdom are however older.[2]

(20) An ecclesiastic (short beard) in a red chasuble, holding a book. ΒΑΛ*εν*ΤΙΝΟC. The well-known presbyter of the Roman Church (Feb. 14th). His popularity in this age dates from the restoration of the Basilica on the Via Flaminia by Pope Theodore (642–649).[3]

(21) A bishop (beardless) in classical costume, with bare feet, and the ecclesiastical pallium round his shoulders. He holds a small cross in his right hand, and a book in his left. ΑΛЄ*ξαν*ΔΡΟC (the last two letters inscribed horizontally). The bishop of Rome of the beginning of the second century. His place here is no doubt due to the celebrity of the tomb of the martyr Alexander on the Via Nomentana, with whom he had been confused at least as early as the sixth century.[4]

(22) A bishop (short beard) in a yellow chasuble with the pallium, holding a book. ΛЄω. St. Leo the Great (April 11th in the Roman Calendar; Feb. 18th in the Greek).

(23) A bishop (short beard) in a red chasuble, with the pallium. The fingers of the right hand, in the Greek attitude of blessing, touch the book which he holds in his left. CЄΛΒЄCΤΡΙΟC. St. Silvester (314–335).[5]

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that of Euthymius is very long." But it should not have been stated that the crosses which they hold indicate that they were martyrs.

[1] The recent excavations in S. Saba have made it clear that the church was being decorated at the same time and perhaps by the same hands as this part of S. Maria Antiqua.

[2] His name was only inserted in the Roman and other Martyrologies (Sept. 16th) in the sixteenth century. The original epitaph is now in the Lateran Museum (*C.I.L.* xi. 4076). Cf. De Rossi in *Bull. Arch. Chr.* 1883, 134 *sqq.* The relics were rediscovered in SS. Cosma and Damiano in 1582 and given to the Church of the Gesù (Panciroli, *Tesori Nascosti*, 286), where they now lie beneath the high altar.

[3] Marucchi, *Cimitero e Basilica di S. Valentino*, 113.

[4] Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. XCI, 127.

[5] He is represented in exactly the same manner (including the Greek form of benediction) in the Menologium of Basil II. in the Vatican Library (ed. Albani, ii. 78).

(24) A bishop in classical costume, with the ecclesiastical pallium. Short beard and bare feet. In his right hand is a small anchor, and a book in his left. ΚΛЄΙΜΕΝΤΙΟϹ. St. Clement of Rome.

(25) Christ seated on a throne, robed in purple. His right hand blessing in the Greek manner. The left holds a book. Cruciform nimbus.

The Saints who follow are all bishops wearing, with one exception, the chasuble and pallium, and holding books with both hands. The names are practically intact.

(26) ἰωΑΝΝΙϹ ΧΡΙϹΟϹΤΟΜ. Short beard. Blue chasuble.

(27) γΡΙΓΟΡΙΟϹ. Long beard. Yellow chasuble. Probably St. Gregory Nazianzen (ὁ Θεολόγος).[1]

(28) ΒΑϹΙΛΙΟϹ. Long beard. Blue chasuble.

(29) ΠЄΤΡΟϹ ἀλЄΞΑΝΔΡΙΝΟϹ (the last word inscribed horizontally in two lines). Short beard. Red chasuble.

(30) ΚVΡΙΛΛΟϹ. Long beard. Yellow chasuble. St. Cyril of Alexandria.[2]

(31) ЄΠЄΙΦΑΝΙΟϹ (the last three letters horizontally). He has a long beard and bare feet, and is represented in classical costume (white), with the addition of the ecclesiastical pallium. He holds a small cross in his right hand. His costume, in which he is alone in this part of the series, is explained by the fact that, until he became bishop of Salamis in 367, he had led the monastic life, and always maintained his monastic connexions. He is therefore represented in the same garb as, *e.g.*, Euthymius (18).

(32) ἀθΑΝΑϹΙΟϹ. Long beard. Yellow chasuble.

(33) ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟϹ. Short beard. Red chasuble. St. Nicolas of Myra.

(34) ЄΡΑϹΜΟϹ. Short beard. Blue chasuble. This must be the Campanian bishop martyred in the Diocletian persecution (June 2nd in the Roman Calendar). He no doubt owes his position here to the fact that his name was associated with an important Greek monastery on the Caelian, refounded by Pope Adeodatus in the seventh century.[3]

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[1] He is associated with SS. John Chrysostom and Basil in, *e.g.*, the Greek Psalter in the British Museum (Add. 19352, f. 35 b). Cf. Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, 87. In the Church of St. Luke of Stiris it is Gregory ὁ Θαυματουργὸς who appears in this company (*l.c.* 59).

[2] Cf. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, Pl. 51.

[3] *Lib. Pont.* i. 346. Armellini, *Chiese*, 122. Gregorovius, *Rome, &c.* bk. iii. ch. vi. (English translation, ii. 163).

We thus get the following series, starting from the Christ in the centre:

Left.	*Right.*
Clement.	John Chrysostom.
Silvester.	Gregory Nazianzen.
Leo.	Basil.
Alexander.	Peter of Alexandria.
Valentine.	Cyril of Alexandria.
Abundius.	Epiphanius.
Euthymius.	Athanasius.
Sabbas.	Nicolas.
Sergius.	Erasmus.
Gregory (? the Great).	
Bacchus.	
. . . . . .	
Mamas.	

With regard to the principles on which these lists are arranged, it is clear that the saints on the right represent, generally, the Eastern Church, and that those on the left belong to the Church and City of Rome. The choice of the first eight names on the right, as the principal champions of the orthodox faith, is natural and intelligible.[1] Erasmus appears to be an exception, for he has no Eastern connexions. On the other hand, as we have pointed out, his name was well known in Rome at this period.

On the left, saints connected with the city of Rome predominate. The first eight are apparently arranged in the order of ecclesiastical dignity. First come four of the best-known Popes, then two presbyters, then two representatives of the Eastern monasticism which, in this age, had found a new home in the city of Rome.

Pictures of the eighth century are so rare that it is not unimportant to note precisely the manner in which these Saints are represented, the more so because the same rules are applied in every part of the church.[2] Following the example of Apostolic personages, Clement and Alexander as ecclesiastics of the pre-Constantinian age appear in the garb with which we are familiar from the Catacomb-paintings and the mosaics, viz. the classical costume of the pallium over a long tunic reaching to the feet, generally white with two red stripes down the front. Their feet are bare.

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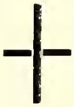
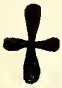
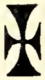
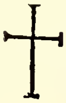
[1] Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 388, 392.

[2] See the references given on p. 28, note 2.

Valentine and Abundius, however, though they belong to the same epoch, are not represented in this manner. Round the neck bishops also wear the ecclesiastical ornament known as the pallium, *i.e.* the white band marked with crosses, one end of which hangs over the breast. All the ecclesiastics, of whatever period, hold a book (the Gospels) in the left hand, but in his right Clement holds a small anchor in front of him.

Ecclesiastics of the fourth century and onwards appear in the ordinary vestments; chasuble, dalmatic, tunic or alb, and the pallium for bishops. In most cases the wide sleeve of the white dalmatic can be seen hanging down from the right hand as low as the knees and bordered with two bands of red, and within it the sleeve of the tunic or alb, fitting close to the wrist. In the other cases there is only the tunic with a border at the wrist, and as usual there are two red stripes down its front. There are sometimes differences in the pallium worn by the Eastern and Western bishops. With the latter it lies round the shoulders with one end hanging down over the middle of the chest, and this is also the case with the last four bishops on the right. The crosses are of the shape  With the first five Greeks it is wound round the neck, the end falling in front over the left shoulder. The crosses on this side are alternately of the forms  and .

The monastic saints (Euthymius, Sabbas, and Epiphanius), though they belong to the fourth century, are represented in the classical or early Christian costume of pallium and tunic. Perhaps it was chosen in order to indicate that as monks they are sacred persons but not ecclesiastics.[1] In the case of Epiphanius, the addition of the ecclesiastical pallium is enough to suggest that he afterwards became a bishop.

The lay saints appear in the Byzantine official costume, to which we have already referred; viz., the chlamys, fastened on the right shoulder so as to leave the arm free, and marked in front with the square panel of darker material known as the tâblion. This is worn over a long-sleeved tunic reaching below the knees. These saints hold a small cross in the right hand and the crown, the emblem of martyrdom, in the left. The former is of the shape  and held in front of the chest. It does not seem to have any reference to martyrdom, but appears very commonly in Byzantine representations of saints of all kinds (as here also with Alexander and Epiphanius). But it is most frequent with lay saints, because their hands are not occupied, like those of ecclesiastics, with books or with the gesture of benediction.

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[1] Cf. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 526, who says that the costume is used regularly "per onorare quei santi che non erano da rappresentarsi colle vesti liturgiche o altrimenti proprie." It might also be suggested that, as the pallium was the garb of philosophers, it had a special appropriateness for ascetics.

The saints are so much better preserved than the scenes above them that it is possible to say a few words about their artistic character. Though both, as being on the same plane of the plaster, and forming parts of one scheme of decoration, were presumably executed at the same time, they give the impression that they are not by the same hands. The Greek inscriptions attached to the saints, perhaps support this conclusion. In any case the work is that of a not very high class of church decorators. The single figures with their rigid and conventional attitudes do not present much scope for freedom of drawing, but the outlines are coarse and elementary. Relief is produced by shading with hatched lines. The faces, with their large and staring eyes, have a melancholy expression.

The dado below the figures is covered with a representation of hangings. As this occurs in several parts of the church (though perhaps not always of the same date), one description may suffice for all. The drapery is white with a coarse red and yellow pattern, the folds being marked by thick black lines. It is hung against a background which now appears black, but was no doubt originally blue.

Immediately below the figure of Christ a small square pedestal of brick and tiles has been built against this drapery at a later date. It was about 85cm. high, and projected about 65cm. from the wall. In the upper part is a square cavity (27cm. wide and 29cm. high), lined with white marble at the top and sides and verde antique at the bottom, and open in front. It is obviously the central support of an altar with a receptacle for relics.

Before leaving this part of the church we must notice the remains of painting in the jambs of the door (J) leading to the incline. On the left were three life-size figures facing the spectator (35). They have large yellow nimbi. The central figure, as shown by the veil or mantle over the head, and the bottom of the dress, was probably the Virgin. She stands under the central opening of a structure of masonry like a triumphal arch. On the right a column with its capital can be seen, dividing the central from the side arch. Immediately above the right of the capital a small bust in a medallion is painted in red.[1] The full-length figure below this has disappeared, except the nimbus round the head, the bottom of the long tunic, and the sandalled feet. Nothing definite can be made out of the figure on the other side. If the central figure was the Virgin, the attendants were probably two Archangels.

The subject on the right (36), though reduced to little more than outlines, is clearer and more interesting. It is the "Descent into Hell."[2] On the right we see the figure of Christ, fully draped and with the cruciform nimbus, moving quickly towards the left. With the right hand he grasps the hand of a beardless figure in white drapery below him on the left, rising out of a tomb-like structure. Behind this figure appear the head and hand of another. In the left hand Christ holds a roll. His right foot rests on the head of a figure half-seated, half-crouching on the ground with the right leg bent under it, supporting with one hand the cover or door of the tomb. In this figure we may recognise the personification of Hades which appears in other representations of the scene. The discussion of the importance of this picture in the development of the subject is reserved for the Appendix.

At the point where the series of Saints and the Old Testament scenes above them come to an end, opposite to the beginning of the corner pier of the peristyle, the aisle was crossed by a low screen with an opening in the middle, through which there was an ascent of two steps. Above, at the level of the top of the row of saints, some kind of beam ran across, as may be seen by the corresponding holes in the main wall and in the pier of the peristyle. The painted frame of the picture was arranged so as not to interfere with this. The beam may have been either of wood or marble, and supported by two short columns resting on the screen.[3]

Between the screen and a small door through which a staircase descends from the first landing of the incline, the wall was again covered with paintings. Unfortunately very little of this has survived. At the top the plaster has completely disappeared, exposing the brickwork. Corresponding in height to the row of saints in the outer part of the aisle there were two tiers of scenes, painted in a peculiar and individual style with very small figures. In the upper tier all that can be seen is, in the left corner, the upper part of a male figure, nude, save for a garment coming over the left shoulder, and wearing what appears to be a turreted crown.[1] He holds some large yellow object in his left hand. In the right corner is a fragment of drapery belonging to a figure, and under it appears the border which framed the scenes with a fragment of description painted on it . . ΙϹΑΙ. . . The fragment below shows that the inscription was in Greek. On the lower tier, in the left corner, are two male beardless figures, nude save for loin-cloths, standing side by side, apparently in water (37). Their right hands are held flat on the chest. It is possible that they belong to a series of the Forty Martyrs, a subject which we shall find represented in another part of the church (p. 111). Below them on the painted border are the first words of the description, ΤΗΓΡΑΦΗΤΗϹЄΙΚΟΝΟϹ;ΑΙΤѠΝΒΡѠ . . . . . . the beginning of which is obvious: *ἡ γραφὴ τῆς εἰκόνος.* The small figures are painted in a bold and sketchy style. The outlines are hard and angular and the features produced by single strokes of the brush. The forms are modelled in colour, with the lights put in in white. Below is a dado of drapery with bold pattern of red on a white ground, equally characteristic. It is clear that there was an earlier painting on this wall, but only the broad red enclosing border can be seen in places where the upper surface has come away.

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[1] It recalls the figures of the sun and moon which sometimes appear in representations of the Crucifixion. *E.g.* Garrucci, vi. T. 459, 2, 3.

[2] See the sketch, Fig. 9, p. 116.

[3] The appearance must have been like that of the screens in the Church of St. Luke of Stiris (Schultz and Barnsley, Pl. 22, &c.).

We now pass through the door at the end of the aisle into the chapel (F) to the left of the Sanctuary, containing perhaps the most interesting remains in the building.[2] The fact that the barrel-vault has remained intact, and that the chapel is enclosed on all sides, has preserved some of the paintings in a far better condition than in any other part of the church. The earth in which they were buried has acted as an excellent preservative, and, except where the plaster has fallen, they are as fresh as when they left the artist's hands. Moreover, from the inscriptions and the historical personages represented, we are able to date them within a few years. They thus provide a valuable example of Roman pictorial art in the middle of the eighth century. The subjects show that the chapel was specially connected with SS. Quiricus and Julitta, a mother and her son who suffered martyrdom at Tarsus during the Diocletian Persecution.

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[1] This has a certain resemblance to the personifications of rivers with horns on their heads in the Greek Psalter of the British Museum (Add. 19352, f. 57 b, 125 a).

[2] The doors which connect the chapel with the aisle and the sanctuary were partly built up so as to reduce their size after the building became a church. The same is the case with the corresponding chapel (G).

The chapel was divided into two nearly equal parts by a low screen of marble slabs, with an opening in the middle, and a step up into the inner portion. Above the screen, as shown by the holes in the walls, and the arrangement of the painted frames of the pictures, a beam ran across just as in the aisle outside the chapel. In describing the pictures, which it may be noticed do not extend above a convenient level for the eye, the lofty walls above this being left blank, it will be best to begin with the end, or south-east wall, behind the altar. The remains of the marble base of the latter still exist *in situ*, almost square, and standing away from the wall. As will be seen from the accompanying rough sketch (Fig. 3), the sides were formed by slabs of marble which fitted into grooves in the base. In the middle of the latter is an oblong cavity for relics, the edge being rebated to receive the lid. At the back of the altar there was an opening. The arrangement is almost exactly the same as that of the sixth-century altars in the crypts of the SS. Apostoli and of SS. Cosma e Damiano.[1]

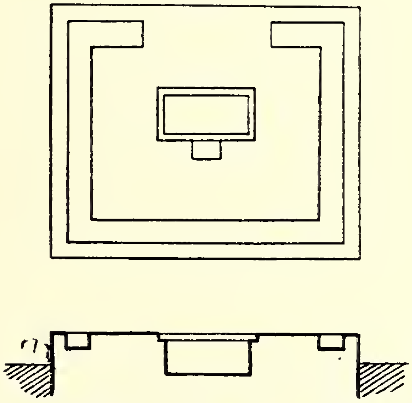

FIG. 3.—PLAN AND SECTION OF BASE OF ALTAR IN THE CHAPEL OF SS. QUIRICUS AND JULITTA.

In the middle of the wall, fairly high up, is a square niche, part of the ancient construction of the building. The back wall of this is painted with a Crucifixion (38), peculiarly well preserved owing to the protection it has received from the recess in which it is placed.

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[1] Garrucci, vi. T. 423, 9—11; Grisar, *Anal. Rom.*, i. 620 *sqq.* Cf. also the altar of Euphrasius at Parenzo (Garrucci, vi. T. 408, 9; Rivoira, *Origini*, Fig. 144).

On a yellow cross, fixed by three pegs in a small red mound, the figure of Christ is extended. The head, which is surrounded by a cruciform nimbus, is slightly inclined to the left, and the eyes are open. He wears a long sleeveless garment, which is blue with two yellow stripes down the front. The feet are nailed separately, and high up above the instep. If the cross has a top limb it is concealed by the yellow *tabula ansata* immediately above Christ's head. On it is inscribed

+Ι̅C̅ Ο ΝΑΖωΡΑΙΟC
Ο ΒΑCΙΛЄΥC ΤωΝ Ι
ΟΥΔΑΙωΝ·

To the left stands Mary, completely enveloped in a dark blue garment, bordered and fringed with white. She is in the act of raising her covered hands to her face on which an expression of acute grief is depicted. Her head is surrounded by a nimbus, and beside her is inscribed perpendicularly, SC̅A̅ MARIA. Between her and the cross Longinus is represented on a much smaller scale, piercing the side of Christ with a spear. He is a bearded figure wearing a short green tunic with a stripe of gold embroidery down the front and also at the wrists, and blue hose. His sword hangs at his left side by a strap passing over the right shoulder. Beside him is his name, LONGINUS. On the right of the cross stands John (nimbed), in the Apostolic garb of a yellow pallium over a long white tunic with two red stripes down the front. His right hand is in the attitude of blessing, *i.e.*, the first two fingers are extended while the others are held by the thumb. In his left hand is a jewelled book. Beside him is inscribed perpendicularly SCS IOANNIS EVGAGELISTA. The figure seems to have been taken from some series of Apostles or Evangelists, for the attitude is conventional and has no relation to the scene of the Crucifixion, as is always the case in later mediaeval art. If the series was a Greek one, the transliteration from Εὐαγγελιστὴς might help to explain the mis-spelling of the name. Between John and the cross, and corresponding in size to Longinus, is the soldier raising the sponge on a reed. He wears a short red tunic and high boots coming up his bare legs. Beside him stands the bucket of vinegar. The background of the picture is a dark blue sky in which the sun appears on the left and the moon on the right. Below, on either side of the cross, are two mountains, the left red, the right green. The edge of the foreground is marked by what may be intended for tufts of grass, or possibly for cracks in the soil. The roof of the niche has a coarse red pattern, and on the sides are roughly drawn palm trees with clusters of dates.

The picture of the Crucifixion adds one more to a series of Roman representations of the scene, which are almost precisely similar in treatment, and which must go back to some common original. They date from the seventh to the ninth century, and, while they sometimes agree even in minor details, the chief peculiarities which they all possess are the following.[1] The Christ is robed in a long sleeveless garment, and the feet are nailed apart. Mary is raising her covered hands to her face, and John is represented conventionally with one hand in the attitude of benediction, and the other holding a book. In all but one, Longinus and the soldier with the sponge also appear. The oldest (though the date is not absolutely certain) is the painting in the Catacomb of St. Valentine, probably belonging to the time of Pope Theodore (642–649).[2] In this the two soldiers do not appear. The next formed part of John VII.'s (705–707) mosaic decorations in his chapel of the Virgin at St. Peter's. So far as can be judged from the drawings made before its destruction in the seventeenth century,[3] it was exactly like the picture in S. Maria Antiqua, which may well have been copied from it. Among the paintings of the ninth century in the oratory under the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo is another example, which even in minor details agrees with the picture in S. Maria. Longinus has the sword hanging at his side, the pail of vinegar stands by the soldier with the sponge, and the ground shows the same rude representations of vegetation. On the other hand, St. Mary Magdalene appears behind the Virgin supporting her.[4]

Below the niche, the whole breadth of the wall behind the altar is painted with a row of full-length figures ; the Virgin and Child enthroned in the centre, flanked by the patrons of the Roman Church, the patrons of the chapel, the Pope of the day, and the donor (39). Behind them is a dado alternately red and green. The upper part of the central group has been ruined by the fall of the plaster, and the surface below the figures has also disappeared ; otherwise they are generally in a good state of preservation. Beginning from the centre, the Virgin, seated on a characteristic Byzantine throne with a large cushion, is draped in purple robes ornamented with jewels. Her right hand was apparently raised. With her left she holds the Child seated on her lap. He is clothed in yellow, and grasps a roll with both hands. To the left is St. Paul in white pallium and tunic, with sandalled feet. On the end of the pallium which hangs down is the mark **I**. Beside him can be read +PA*u*LVS. St. Peter, on the right, is represented in the same manner, but on his pallium is the mark **H**. Beside him is *p*E*t*RVS. To the left of Paul is Julitta, completely enveloped in a dark yellow garment coming over her head where it just shows a kind of turban underneath. She holds a small cross before her with the right hand, and with the covered left a jewelled crown. Her name is complete : $\overline{\text{SCA}}$ IVLI₸A. She has of course the circular nimbus. Beyond her the last figure on the left is Pope Zacharias (741–752). He is vested in a dark yellow chasuble, over which is the ecclesiastical pallium, white with red crosses. He supports a jewelled book in his hands covered with the chasuble. The head, with its black hair and short beard, is sufficiently individual to suggest portraiture. Behind it is the square nimbus. The name is inscribed +ZACCHARIAS | PAPA (in two columns). *Sanctissimus*, which no doubt preceded the name, has disappeared. On the right of St. Peter stands Quiricus, represented with the stature of a boy. He is dressed like the Apostles, and his hands are raised and extended with the palms outwards in the ritual attitude of prayer. He stands on a small platform like the footstool of the throne. His head is encircled by a nimbus, and over him is inscribed (perpendicularly, as usual) *sc*S+CVIRICVS. Beyond him, to the right, and turning towards the centre of the picture, is an ecclesiastic vested in a chestnut-coloured chasuble covering his hands,

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[1] Some of the features appear in the more elaborate representation of the Rabulas Codex (sixth century) Garrucci, iii. T. 139.

[2] Marucchi, *Cimitero e Basilica di S. Valentino*, 49 *sqq*. The discovery of the picture in S. Maria Antiqua has confirmed the truth of the old copies of the Catacomb-painting (Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, 579, and Ciacconio's copyist, *Cod. Vat.* 5409) against the objections raised by Wilpert (*Die Katakomben-gemälde und ihre alten Copien*, 40).

[3] Garrucci, iv. T. 279. 1, 280. 8. Part of the figure of the Virgin raising her covered hands to her face may still be seen in the Crypt of St. Peter's.

[4] P. Germano, *La Casa Celimontana dei SS. Martiri Giovanni e Paolo*, 426, Fig. 74. The original has now practically disappeared. An ivory of about the same date in the Liverpool Museum (Mayer Collection) shows John in the same conventional manner with a book, though the

Christ is of a different type (Garrucci, vi. T. 459. 3. Westwood, *Fictile Ivories at S. Kensington*, p. 105). Cf. also Gori, *Thes. Vet. Dipt.* iii. T. xxxii. John not infrequently retains the book in mediaeval representations, even after the right hand has assumed a different attitude.

which support, as if presenting it to the Virgin, the model of a church. It is a small building with a semicircular red-tiled roof, a door with a window above it in the façade, and another door in the right side. As these features correspond more or less with the existing chapel, though it is not a detached building, we may suppose that the model was intended to represent it. The features of the donor have entirely vanished, but on either side of the square nimbus behind his head is inscribed :

+ *t*HEODOTVS · $\overline{\mathrm{PRIMO}}$ · DEFENSORVM
ETD*isp*ENSATORE $\overline{\mathrm{SCE}}$ · $\overline{\mathrm{DI}}$
GENETR*ic*IS · SEN PERQVE
BIRGO · MARIA · QVI APPELLATVR
ANTIQA

Between the initial cross and the beginning of the name the surface is destroyed, but the space shows that a word, perhaps a title (corresponding to *sanctissimus* in the case of the Pope) has disappeared. It is not easy to suggest a restoration. A donor of this age, in a votive inscription in the first person, generally speaks of himself as *indignus* or *infelix*,[1] but the case is different when, as here, the inscription is not a dedication but an identification or description. Perhaps some such word as *devotus* or *devotissimus* (contracted to DEV) occupied the space. *Primo*, as the line above it shows, is for *primicerio*, though in the 'Book of the Popes' the earliest mention of the office describes its holder as *defensorum primus*.[2] *Primicerio* illustrates the use of the ablative for the nominative, as in *dispensatore* ; the origin of the Italian form.

Theodotus is known to us from two other sources. In the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria there still exists the inscription which records his rebuilding of the structure, and also gives the list of relics which then belonged to it. At this time—the date may be either 755 or 770 : in any case later than the inscription in S. Maria Antiqua—he describes himself as *holim dux nunc primicerius sca*(*ncta*)*e sed*(*is*) *Apostolicae et pater* (*h*)*uius ben*(*erabilis*) *diac*(*oniae*).[3] Further, in the *Liber Pontificalis* we are told that the future Pope Hadrian I. (772–795) on the death of his father had been brought up *a proprio thio Theodoto dudum consule et duce postmodum vero primicerio sanctae nostrae ecclesiae.*[1] Theodotus, then, was originally a military official who, probably in middle life, adopted the ecclesiastical career and reached one of the high positions in the Roman Church. But his connexion with S. Maria Antiqua was due to the fact that he was also the *dispensator* or administrator of one of the official charitable institutions known as *diaconiae* which had its seat in the church. In this respect he may be compared with the *dispensator* of another *diaconia*, S. Maria in Cosmedin, who, perhaps some fifty years later, in a deed of gift to the church describes himself as *inmeritus dux*.[2]

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[1] *E.g.* the deed of gift in S. Clemente begins : *infelix ego Gregorius primus presbyter*, &c. Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. 123, 172, T. vi. 1.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* i. under Constantine (708-715). For the office cf. Duchesne, *Premiers Temps de l'État Pontifical*, 46 : 'personnes chargées des rapports avec les tribunaux, et notamment de l'exécution des sentences ecclésiastiques. C'est un service d'avouerie et de police.'

[3] Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 174, T. iii. 5. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. 514, n. 2.

The reason for the interest taken by Theodotus in the saints to whom the chapel is dedicated, is not obvious. Quiricus and Julitta belong originally to Asia Minor, Tarsus being the scene of their martyrdom; and they were well known in the East, where they still retain their place in the Calendar on July 15th. In Italy, Ravenna possessed some of their relics,[3] and at the end of the fifth century their names, at least, appear to have been known in Rome, for their apocryphal 'Acts' are among those condemned by the Roman Council of the year 495.[4] But we have no reason to think that they were ever popular in Rome, and the only dedication to them in the city belongs to a much later period.[5] On the other hand their cult seems to have been peculiarly frequent in Gaul. Their relics were said to have been brought to Auxerre at the end of the fourth century, and dedications of churches to them are numerous.[6] In this connexion we cannot forget that, in the time of Zacharias, the relations between Rome and the Frankish kings were becoming intimate. It is only with his successor that we find the Pope actually making a journey to France, but his predecessor had appealed for help to Charles Martel, and Zacharias himself had given his sanction to the accession of Pippin. It is remarkable that the name of Quiricus appears on one of Pippin's coins.[1] But who can say whether this temporary popularity of the saint originated in Rome or in Gaul, and which of the two learnt it from the other? All that we know is that communications between Rome and Gaul must have been frequent at the time, and therefore it is not impossible that the dedication of the chapel in S. Maria Antiqua may be, in some way or other, due to contemporary conditions. It is a curious coincidence, though perhaps nothing more, that the name-saint of Theodotus, also a martyr of the Diocletian persecution, is connected with another Julitta. He appears thus in the Roman Martyrology on May 18th. *Ancyrae in Galatia S. Theodoti martyris et sanctarum Thecusae eius amitae, Alexandrae, Claudiae, Fainae, Euphrasiae, Matronae et Iulittae virginum.* The virgins were martyred by being drowned in the lake, and Theodotus recovered the bodies and buried them. If we wanted to launch out into conjectures, we might suggest that Theodotus, the *dispensator* of S. Maria Antiqua, being first through his name connected with this group of saints, and later coming to know (whether from an Eastern or Western source) of the more famous Julitta of Tarsus (and her son Quiricus), may have confused the two; the difficulty of the difference in condition being perhaps concealed by the fact that the list of the virgin martyrs of Ancyra (see above) ended with *Matrona et Iulitta.*[2] Such cases of a name being mistaken for a description are, of course, not uncommon. However, any such explanation is perhaps unnecessary: it certainly cannot be proved.

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[1] *Lib. Pont.* i. 486. *Thio, i.e.* θεῖος, 'zio,' 'uncle.'

[2] The inscription (still in the portico) is addressed to the Virgin (l. 5): *ego humillimus servulus tuus [E]ustathius inmeritus dux quem tibi deservire et huic scae tuae diac(oniae) dispensatorem effici iussisti.* Crescimbeni, *Istoria di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, 62. Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* v. 216. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. 520, n. 90.

[3] *Acta SS.* June, vol. iii. 23 (in S. Giovanni Battista, founded in 438). They are commemorated in the Western Calendars on June 16th; *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, &c.

[4] Mansi, *Concilia*, viii. 152. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lix. 164. Jaffé, *Regesta*, ii. 693 (Addenda), defends the authenticity of the decree of Gelasius, but cf. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 46.

[5] SS. Quirico e Giulitta behind the Forum of Augustus. The foundation of the church is much older, but the present dedication first appears in the twelfth century. Armellini, *Chiese*, 172.

[6] *Acta SS.*, June, vol. iii. 21. Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, 503. The dedication is even found in England.

We may now proceed to the story of Quiricus and Julitta as represented on the side-walls of the chapel (40). The series begins on the left wall at the end nearest to the door. The scenes here are a good deal damaged.

(i) On the left, the governor (in Byzantine official costume) is seated in front of a structure like the apse of a basilica. An attendant stands on either side of him. In the middle of the picture appears Julitta extending her hand towards the governor, *i.e.* addressing him. Behind her on the extreme right is a soldier. They are standing in front of a wall, above which there are traces of a nimbed figure in yellow, apparently the same personage who is represented below. Behind this figure to the right is a red castellated building. There can be no doubt that this scene, following the 'Acts,'[1] represents Julitta, who had escaped from Iconium to Tarsus, arrested and brought before the *praeses* Alexander. The figure on the wall is perhaps intended to represent the fugitive outside the city. To the right of the governor's throne are the traces of the description (five lines), too fragmentary for connected restoration. It can be seen that it began with—

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[1] M. Prou, *Monnaies Carolingiennes*, p. 130, No. 927: on reverse *Sci Cirici.* On the other hand, the rediscovery of the relics at Auxerre, the translation of part of them to Nevers, and the dedication of the Cathedral there to 'St. Cyr,' only took place at the end of the eighth century. *Petits Bollandistes*, vii. 74.

[2] The same order is given in the *Acta Sincera*, c. xix. (Ruinart, 380).

*ub*I SCA *iulitta*

and that it ended with some such phrase as

*ducitur ad pre*SID*e*M

Possibly the word FVGIENS occurred in the middle, but the traces are very uncertain.

(ii) To the left is a gateway towards which Quiricus (+ $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ CVIRICVS❦ over his head) is being led by a man in a short tunic. On the right a soldier with a lance holds him by the left arm. Behind him is a house.

This is the next episode in the Acts. Quiricus, on the arrest of his mother, had been concealed in a house outside the city; but at the request of Julitta he was fetched in order to give his testimony before the *praeses.* With this agrees the description which seems to read:

ubi scs CVIRICVS A MILIT*i*BV*s* DVCITVR

A word is inscribed perpendicularly in the gateway, perhaps the name of the city—Tarsus according to the Acts. The first letter which has survived is possibly an A. The second has disappeared. The last three are SIA. The name may have been given as *Tarsia.*

(iii) Almost entirely destroyed. The beginning of the description can be read +VBI $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ CVIRICVS·C/// &c. The last letter is uncertain but is probably C. The next episode in the Acts is the examination of Quiricus, and his confession of faith. The inscription may have run: *Ubi scs. Cuiricus Christianum se confitetur.*

(iv) The flagellation of Quiricus, the next episode in the Acts (§ 4),

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[1] The story, as is explained below, generally follows the later 'Acta' given in *Acta SS.* June 16th (vol. iii. 28). The edition of Antwerp, 1643, &c., is always cited.

Tunc iratus Praeses iussit contristari puerum et catomis caedi. On the left the governor, seated on his throne, stretches out his right hand with the first and second fingers extended and the third and fourth held down by the thumb, the regular gesture accompanying any solemn utterance, which still survives in the episcopal act of benediction.[1] On the right a man (beardless) in a short tunic holds Quiricus (name as usual), naked and face downwards, under his right arm. Another man on the left is flogging him with a small single-thonged whip. The executioner is represented with a long moustache and shaven chin. Above is the description,

+VBI·$\overline{\mathrm{SCS}}$ CVIRICVS·CATOMVLEBATVS EsT❦

The punishment of 'catomulevatio' occurs in several accounts of martyrdoms of children, and has been explained by Du Cange and the editors of the *Acta*, but we have never before had a representation of the process. It was clearly the same as the old-fashioned operation known as 'horsing.' *Catomo* or *catomu* (*i.e.* κατ' ὤμου 'down from the shoulder') *levari* or *suspendi* is the regular expression in the 'Acta,' and seems to be equivalent to *in humeros tolli*; but the phrase had come to mean a schoolboy flogging generally; and in this case Quiricus, being only a *triennis puer*, is secured in a more convenient fashion.[2]

(v) Fairly well preserved. On the left, in front of a house, the governor wearing a chlamys with *tablion* and a yellow disc or *segmentum* on the arm of his tunic, is seated with an attendant behind him. Beside him is inscribed (in two columns) PRESES ALEXANDRVS. In the centre a man in tunic and chlamys (without the *tablion*) shows Quiricus to him. Quiricus extends his right hand with the gesture described above (iv). Behind him is Julitta. Both have their names inscribed as before. Above is the description:

+VBI·$\overline{\mathrm{SCS}}$·CVIRICVS·LINGVA·ISCISSA·LOQVIT | AT PRESIDEM❦

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[1] Apuleius, *Met.* ii. 21: *porrigit dexteram, et aa instar oratorum conformat articulum; duobusque infimis conclusis digitis, ceteros eminus porrigit.* Cf. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 640; Lowrie, *Christian Art and Arch.*, 260.

[2] The older verb *catomidio* (with the same meaning; see Rich, *Dict. Ant.* s.v.) which appears in Petronius, 132, and Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani*, 18. 9, seems to have dropped out of use. Du Cange, *Gloss.* s.v. and the Bollandist editor in *Acta SS.* June, vol. ii. 1023 (SS. Vitus and Modestus), give examples of the later phrase. In such passages as that quoted above from the Acts of Quiricus (cf. Acts of Vitus and Modestus, June, vol. iii. 1022, § 4) where *catomo* or *catomis caedi* is used, the original meaning seems to have been forgotten, and *catomus* = 'the rod.'

This episode occurs in the Acts, but at a much later point (§ 16). *Impiissimus autem Praeses non est compunctus ex omnibus his, sed repletus diabolo vocavit medicum, dicens, Incidite puero linguam: non enim ferre possum incantationes et magicas artes eius. Cumque et hoc factum esset, divina virtute coepit loqui sanctus puer dixitque ad Praesidem: Aestimasti mihi verba posse auferri cum lingua, sed ego accepi a Deo spiritum organi, quem nec tu nec pater tuus diabolus extinguere potestis, ut insultem maliciosae infidelitati tuae, quia te extollis contra Deum.*

(vi) Damaged. On the left the governor was seated giving orders, but only the footstool of the throne can be seen. Above appears the tiled roof of a house. On the right is a building with tiled roof, representing the prison. At a window in its side the saints (with their names beside them) appear with hands raised in the attitude of prayer. Below, they were represented up to their middles in a caldron, with hands raised as above, but very little of this is left. Flames can be seen underneath. To the right Julitta's name is inscribed perpendicularly. In the 'Acta' this episode follows the cutting out of the tongue, as here (§§ 17–20). *Praeses dixit, Afferte cacabum, et mittite in eo picem, ceram, stuppam, et adhibete ignem.* (Julitta hesitates, but is restored to faith by her son's prayer.) . . . . *Haec dicens beata Iulitta ingressa sponte in cacabum cum filio benedixit Deum, et non est contristata ab igne neque laesa. Sanctus autem Cyricus orabat eum lacrimis, &c.* The imprisonment is mentioned as early as § 6. We may therefore restore the fragmentary description thus (cf. the next scene):

*ubi sc*S CVIRICVS·CVMMATRE·*suam in cacabum missi sunt.*

We now turn to the right wall of the chapel where the series is continued at the end nearest the altar.

(vii) This scene is smaller than the others, as there was a recess in the wall (perhaps a credence) below it. It will be noticed that the painted frame of the next picture is also arranged to fit this. The Saints (nude, save for loin-cloths) are extended on a large flat receptacle which two men in short tunics are placing in position by means of a projecting handle at either end. The background of the scene is red, perhaps to represent fire. In the upper left-hand corner appears the Saviour (in a red, sleeved garment) stretching out His right hand, from which rays proceed, blessing the martyrs. His cruciform nimbus is flanked by two small nimbed angels (half-lengths) with raised hands. The description reads:

+VBI·SCS·CVIRICVS·CVMMATRE SVAM·| IN SARTAGINE·
MISSI SVNT·

There is nothing in the Acts exactly corresponding to the torture of the frying pan (*sartago*). Perhaps it is another version of what is narrated in § 12. *Iussit post haec Praeses afferri lectum aereum et imponi sanctum puerum supra eum.* This is the more probable as we shall see that the next words of the Acts illustrate the next scene in the chapel.

(viii) This is a rather long panel, and it contains two subjects. On the left Quiricus is standing between two men, one of whom (right) holds a large nail on the top of his head with one hand while he hammers it in with the other. Blood is spurting out from the saint's head. The executioner with the hammer has a moustache like the one in (iv). Above is an angel flying downwards with outstretched hand from which come rays of light. Beside him is inscribed ANGELVS. The description reads:

+VBI·SCS·CVIRICVS ACVTIBV | CONFICVSET

Acutibu(*s*) (*acutis* would be the regular form) occurs as a synonym for *clavis* in the Acts of Martyrs (see Du Cange). After the inscription was painted an unsuccessful attempt was apparently made to convert the final T into an S for *est.* The subject is explained by the passage in the Acts which immediately follows the words quoted in (vii): *clavosque acutos infigi capiti eius, dicens ad eum, Si habès Deum certum, liberet te nunc de manibus meis: et statim angelus Domini de caelo veniens extraxit clavos qui fuerant infixi.*

The final episode of the martyrdom is represented in the other part of the picture. On the right, the Governor on his throne is giving orders, *i.e.* his right hand is stretched out with the "benediction" gesture. He is attended by two soldiers with conical helmets. Above him is inscribed PRE*s*IDE. To the left, a man in a yellow tunic and white chlamys, which is flying away with the violent action, is swinging Quiricus by one leg. Above is part of the description which may be completed conjecturally,

+VBI SCS·CVIRICVS·IN *terram illisus est.*

In the later Acts, with which, as we have seen, most of the scenes correspond, Quiricus and his mother are finally beheaded (§ 22). In the older and simpler version of the Acts (see below) we read that the Governor, exasperated by the child's refusal to yield to his blandishments, *pede* *arreptum e sublimi solio puerum terrae allidit.*[1] This seems to be the origin of the representation before us.

The story of Quiricus and Julitta has reached us in two forms: (i) The oldest is the letter of Theodore, bishop of Iconium, belonging to the age of Justinian.[2] The author states that it was intended to supersede the fabulous narratives of the martyrdom which, as we know from the decree of Gelasius (p. 44), were current at the end of the fifth century. The story in this form has been reduced to a comparatively small number of episodes. In particular, Julitta is arrested with Quiricus in her arms, and his death takes place at an early stage of the proceedings. (ii) The more elaborate story printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* dates, apparently, in its present form from the twelfth century.[3] Most of the scenes in the chapel can be traced in it; but the paintings, or their originals, are evidently derived from a version in which the episodes were neither so multiplied as in the 'Acts,' nor given in quite the same order.

It may be convenient to give a table showing the correspondence between the scenes and the Acts:—

S. Maria Antiqua		*Acta Sincera*	*Acta SS.*
Scene		Ruinart, 503	June, vol. iii.
(i)	=	c. ii	§ 1
(ii)	=	—	2
(iii)	=	—	? 2, 3.
(iv)	=	—	4
(v)	=	—	16
(vi)	=	—	17
(vii)	=	—	? 12
(viii) *a*	=	—	12
b	=	c. iii	

The series comes to an end just where the screen crossed the chapel. In the space between this and the small door leading to the sanctuary there are the remains of a large painting which, apparently, represented the Virgin and Child surrounded by donors (41). The upper part, with the heads of the principal figures, has gone. The Virgin was arrayed in a blue dress, and there is a footstool under her feet. Her left hand touches the feet of the infant Christ. Everything above this has perished. To the left stands a personage in a yellow chasuble, holding in either hand a votive candle of a form which we shall see more clearly in a later picture (p. 52). Between him and the Virgin is a beardless male figure, in a dark red tunic and hose, of the proportions of a child. He is facing the spectator, but his hands are extended sideways towards the centre of the picture. Behind his head is a square blue nimbus. To the right of the Virgin, the figure corresponding to the personage in the chasuble on the other side, is much damaged. It probably represented a female, for it wears a red garment coming down to the feet, with two large circles on the lower part, and another ornament between them. Corresponding to the small male figure on the other side is a lady of similar proportions. She wears over a yellow dress a sort of shawl, white and fringed. From the point where it is fastened in front, a long chain hangs down ending in a pendant. Her earrings are large hoops with depending ornaments, and she also wears a necklace. The upper part of the head is gone. Behind it is a square blue nimbus. She stands facing the spectator, her feet not resting on the ground. Her left hand is raised with the palm outwards and its thumb touching the little finger of the right hand, between the thumb and first finger of which she holds a red flower (Fig. 4). So much of the background as appears is green.

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[1] Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 504, c. iii.

[2] Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, p. 502. *Acta SS.* June, vol. iii. 23.

[3] *Acta SS.* June, vol. iii. 18.

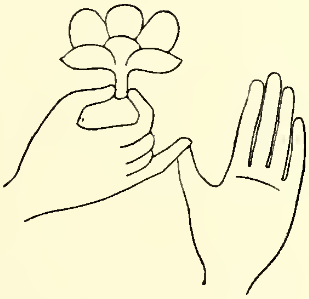

FIG. 4.—SKETCH SHOWING POSITION OF HANDS WITH FLOWER.

In the absence of any inscription, the most obvious supposition is that the picture represents Theodotus, not, as on the wall behind the altar, in his official, but in his private capacity, making, together with the members of his family, an offering to the Virgin, the patroness of the Church. The other personages might then be his wife and children. It is possible that the small figures may represent adults, but the probabilities are the other way. The dress, in particular, of the male figure (the simple tunic) suggests a boy.

The picture contains several interesting details. In the first place, we see that the square nimbus is not confined to persons of a sacred or official character, for here we find it with the two small figures who, even if they are not children, appear to be of secondary importance. The motive of a flower held in the hand is not common in late-Roman and Byzantine art. The nearest analogy to our picture is the representation of Serena, the wife of Stilicho, on an ivory diptych at Monza.[1] She is standing with her right hand raised to the level of her shoulder, and holding between the thumb and first finger a flower, which also seems to be intended for a rose. It has been suggested that, as her left hand holds a *mappa* or handkerchief like the consuls in other diptychs, the flower may be some indication of authority or dignity.[2] The Virgin is not unfrequently represented in this epoch holding a handkerchief—we shall come presently to an instance in this church (p. 67), and in the same way she also occasionally holds a flower.[3] If this is not a sign of dignity or a mere ornament, it might be explained as an emblem of herself.[4] And so the lady in S. Maria Antiqua may be holding a rose as a sign of devotion to her patroness, the Virgin.

Lastly, we come to the paintings on either side of the door by which we entered the chapel from the aisle.

To the left is another votive picture (42). In the left corner, probably the same personage whom we have seen before, vested in a yellow chasuble and holding a lighted candle shaped like an ordinary wine bottle[5] in each hand, is kneeling before Quiricus and Julitta, who stand facing the spectator. Their heads have disappeared, but they are represented as on the wall behind the altar, only that Quiricus holds a cross and crown, and Julitta has her right hand raised. Behind the figures is a red dado with yellow border. Above this the background is blue. If the kneeling figure is Theodotus, we at last get a portrait of him, for the face, bearded and of mature age, is well preserved. Behind it is the blue square nimbus. The picture, then, signifies his special devotion to the patrons of the chapel. The jambs of the door are decorated with rudely painted palm trees, like those of the niche above the altar.

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[1] Gori, *Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum*, ii. T. vii. Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels au Moyen Age*, i. T. i., &c. Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, i. Fig. 332.

[2] C. Jullian in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1882, 28. The same idea had suggested itself to Gori (*op. cit.* 241), who thought that the Golden Rose, given by the Pope to individuals as a mark of honour, may have had its origin in this connexion. We should hardly be justified in supposing that the lady in S. Maria Antiqua had been a recipient of the Golden Rose, which does not appear before the eleventh or twelfth century (Cartari, *La Rosa d'Oro Pontificia*, Rome, 1681, p. 7 *sqq.*).

[3] On the Anglo-Saxon ivory of the Adoration of the Magi in the South Kensington Museum (142-'66), the Virgin holds a flower between the thumb and second finger of her right hand. In the Benedictional of Ethelwold at Chatsworth, the Virgin, in the scene of the Nativity, holds a golden lily in her left hand (Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Gt. Britain*, iii. 362).

[4] Based on *Canticles*, ii. 1: 'I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys.'

[5] Qy. in order that it may stand upright of itself. In the next Roman representation of votive tapers that I can recall—the eleventh-century pictures in the lower church of S. Clemente—they have the form of coils of wax, no doubt for the same reason.

To the right of the door the space is occupied by four saints (43). They are nimbed, and hold crosses and crowns. Three are women; the first completely enveloped in a dark red garment, while the others wear a yellow *palla* over white dresses edged with red. The last but one is a man (short-bearded), in Byzantine official costume (white tunic and chlamys with red tablion). Beside him is inscribed perpendicularly +SCS ARMENTISE. The name is complete and the letters certain. The other figures do not appear ever to have had names. The background is similar to that on the left of the door. Above the picture are the concluding words of an inscription,

///RIS · QORUM NOMINA · $\overline{\text{DS}}$ · SCET · ❦

the well-known formula for describing anonymous saints or martyrs.[1] Perhaps it was intended to commemorate the converts made by Quiricus during his prolonged martyrdom.[2] According to the Acts which we have so often quoted, more than a thousand such persons suffered with him (§ 23). If this be so, some *Acta* must have been used which gave details not in our version, such as the name Armentise. There appears to be no trace of such a saint in any of the Martyrologies.

It only remains to be added, that below the paintings all round the chapel (so far as the surface is preserved) there was a representation of yellow drapery with coarse black shading lines, just like that under the row of saints in the left aisle. They are so much alike in design and execution that it is difficult to believe they were not carried out by the same hands (not necessarily those of the painters of the pictures). We may therefore infer that the paintings in the aisle were executed about the same time as those in the chapel, *i.e.* in the middle of the eighth century, or perhaps a little later.

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[1] *E.g.* in the inscription of Paschal I, of the year 817, in S. Prassede (I. 18): *ac s(an)c(t)orum octingentorum quorum nomina scit om(ni)p(oten)s* (Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. 183).

[2] So Marucchi in *N. Bull. Arch. Chr.* vi. (1900) 308.

They were not however by the same hand. The pictures in the chapel have a character of their own, though as works of art they may be described as elementary. The drawing and action of the figures in the martyrdom scenes is often better than the painting, which is coarse and rude. The two small angels (in monochrome) on either side of the head of Christ in scene (vii) are, relatively, quite excellent ; but they are an exception. There is very little ability to represent anything like a pictorial background. The isolated figures of saints and contemporary personages, especially those of the wall behind the altar, are more successful, as the larger scale gave some opportunity for breadth of treatment. In them we may notice that the flesh is painted in white and pink on a ground of green, after the manner familiar from the pictures of the earliest Italian Renaissance. The Crucifixion in its expression, relief, and vivid colouring, is far the most favourable specimen of this local Roman art of the eighth century. For local it must surely be. The elementary character of the work, and the characteristic Latin descriptions, alike testify that we are dealing with products of the local conditions of Rome in that age. On the other hand, the designs may well go back to some Byzantine series of illustrations of the life of the saints. The scenes are quite in the character of those in the Greek Menologies. To take only one detail, the small figures of Christ and angels, such as we have noticed in (vii) and (viii), occur regularly in the well-known Menologium of Basil II. in the Vatican.[1]

The only parallel at Rome for a series of pictures illustrating the "Acts" of one or more saints which has come down to us from Byzantine times is (or rather was) to be found at S. Prassede where, till within the last few years, were to be seen fragments of the stories of the martyrs whose bodies Paschal I (817–824) transferred to the church. There can be little doubt that the pictures were executed at the same time. Each of them was accompanied by a description in the same form as at S. Maria Antiqua.[2]

We now pass through the side-door into the Sanctuary (E). We are at once struck by the fact that its walls have been decorated more than once, for where the plaster has fallen another painted surface (in some cases more than one) is revealed. Still, the principal features which meet the eye belong to one time and one decorative scheme, and it will be most convenient to make this the basis of our description.

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[1] So too the twelfth century MS. of Symeon Metaphrastes in the British Museum (Add. 11870) contains many analogies.

[2] *E.g.* VBI SCS IVLIANVS FVSTIBVS CEDITVR. Armellini, *Chiese,* 242. There is nothing to be seen of the pictures now.

The three walls of the Sanctuary exhibit a single design. The main subject is the Gospel History, depicted in two rows of scenes on the side-walls, and reaching its climax in the Crucifixion portrayed on the wall above the apse, but as a symbolic and theological rather than as an historical fact. On the side-walls, below the Gospel scenes, appear the Apostles; and on the spaces flanking the apse the four Fathers. The design was completed by the usual dado of drapery, into which however in this case figures are introduced. We cannot be sure what was represented in the apse, for the work of a later age conceals this part of the scheme. But there can be little doubt that it was either a 'Majesty,' *i.e.* Christ enthroned (as in the later work which we have before us), or else the patroness of the church, Mary with her Son, surrounded by saints or angels.

We will begin with the side-walls. On the left only the last scene of either row has survived in the right corner. The upper one is the Adoration of the Magi (43). On the left the three Magi (with *m*AGI inscribed above) in conventional Oriental costume with Phrygian caps advance towards the Virgin and Child seated on the right. The Child has a cruciform nimbus, and extends its right hand. Behind stands Joseph with the name IOSEF beside him. The foremost of the Magi is kneeling as he presents a casket with his covered hands. The second and third are also carrying offerings, and apparently are speaking to one another. Between the Virgin and the Magi an angel (half-length) with wings extended and holding a staff, turns towards the Magi and points to the Child. All the figures except the Magi are nimbed.

The story was continued on the opposite wall in the left corner. Of the upper row of scenes very little is left. The first was no doubt the Presentation in The Temple (44). On the left the nimbi round the heads of three figures can be seen. Over the first is inscribed ANNA and to the right of the second +IOSEF (the last three letters perpendicularly). To the right are remains of draped figures.

The following scene was in the country, for the ground is covered with tufts of flowers in a style which recalls some Byzantine miniatures. All the figures have disappeared. The subject may have been the Flight into Egypt.

Beyond this the upper row of scenes has entirely vanished on this wall. Returning to the left wall, below the Adoration of the Magi the Procession to Calvary (45) is fairly well preserved. In the centre, Christ with the cruciform nimbus, robed in dark red, and with the right hand extended, is advancing in the midst of a crowd of figures. He is preceded by Simon the Cyrenian (in short tunic) carrying the cross on his shoulder. Above the latter is inscribed (in three lines)

SIMON | CYRENĒ|SISꝰ.

The Crucifixion itself is represented on the wall above the apse. We pass this by for the moment, and continue the story on the second row of scenes on the right wall. Remains of five can be made out. They must illustrate the story between the Crucifixion and the Ascension. The first scene in the left-hand corner has gone. It must have represented the Resurrection. The next (46) shows Christ in the centre. The right arm is raised and bare, but the figure is draped. The palm of the hand is simply open. On either side of him is a group of Apostles over each of which was inscribed +APOSTOLI. Behind the group on the right is a house. The composition at once recalls the scene of the 'Incredulity of Thomas' as it appears in Byzantine MSS. and mosaics, though of a later date than this painting.[1] The next scene is very fragmentary, but there can be seen on the left a group of Apostles (+AP*o*STO*li* above) in a boat with oars on the sea (blue with red fish swimming in it). On the right is the lower part of the figure of Christ standing on the shore. It is obviously the scene of the Appearance on the Lake of Tiberias which follows the Incredulity of Thomas in the Byzantine Manual.[2] Only the lower half of the two last scenes remains. In the first of these there was a figure standing in the centre. To the left another, bending forwards, apparently with out-stretched hands. Perhaps the subject was the Charge to Peter. In the last panel a draped figure is moving towards the right. Background of hills. In the right corner is a group of buildings, above which can be read *ci*VIT*as*, but the name itself is gone. The subject was, perhaps, the Appearance upon the Mount of Galilee, the Ascension being reserved for some more prominent position.[1]

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[1] The subject is described in the Byzantine Manual (Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 320). The miniature in the twelfth-century Gospels in the British Museum (Harl. 1810, f. 261 b.) is typical. The subject appears with the same main outlines in the church of S. Luke of Stiris (Schultz and Barnsley, 49, Pl. 38) on which see Diehl in *Mélanges* for 1889, p. 41, who says that he knows of no earlier example.

[2] Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 321.

Below the historical scenes on the side-walls was a series of busts of the Apostles in circular medallions with yellow backgrounds which give the effect of a nimbus. The medallions are represented as attached to a substantial rope of oak leaves (black and white with a red background) stretched along the wall. On the left wall four heads are tolerably preserved. Beginning from the left the first fragment is inscribed (on the background, in two columns) +BA*r*THO*o*LO*meus*. Of the next medallion nothing is left. The three which follow are fairly intact. They are inscribed respectively: +IOHANNES, +ANDREAS, +PAVLVS. The heads, of classical type, recall those of the Apostles in various Roman mosaics, and have nothing in common with the Byzantine representations.[2] On the right wall the first two heads from the left (one of which must have been St. Peter) have disappeared. Part of the background of the third, showing an M, has survived. The fourth head has black hair and pointed beard, the fifth grey hair and pointed beard, and the last represents a younger man with a short beard. All the names have vanished.

The dado of drapery is separated from these medallions by a narrow band of plaster, moulded or stamped with a running pattern of scrolls of conventional foliage enclosing alternately flowers and fruit or seed vessels. The style is quite classical. We must imagine that the design was picked out in colour. There are a number of examples of such work in late Roman and Byzantine architecture. For instance, in the south porch of S. Sophia at Constantinople a plaster frieze is described as "a scroll throwing out acanthus leaves and fruits like poppy seed-vessels. The background is coloured blue."[3]

The drapery of the dado is white with a pattern of birds in yellow circles. It is finer than that which we have hitherto met with, and the folds and shading are less rudely painted. To the left of the side-door in the right wall it stops in order to leave room for a tall panel of the same height, which contains the figure of a nimbed woman holding a child in her arms (47). The latter has a necklace and earrings, and holds in front what may be the upright of a yellow cross, but the fall of the plaster has carried away the hand and the cross-bar. There is no trace of a nimbus. To the left of the figure is inscribed perpendicularly + Η ΑΓΙΑ. The name which was on the right has disappeared. Apart from the manner in which the child is represented, one would not expect to find the Virgin in such a subordinate position as this picture occupies, and in all probability the figures represent St. Anne and the infant Mary. On the opposite or left wall, halfway between the side-door and the angle, there are the remains of a similar figure holding a child, who appears to have a cruciform nimbus (48). Of the inscription only ΑΓΙΑ remains, but there can be little doubt that the Virgin and Child were represented here. There was no figure on this wall exactly corresponding to the one opposite, *i.e.*, immediately to the right of the door into the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta. But, though the fall of the plaster has destroyed all traces, we may certainly suppose that there was another in the middle of the dado on the right wall corresponding to the remains on the left. We thus get a series of Holy Mothers, just as in another part of the church we shall find, in a painting of later date, Mary, Elizabeth, and Anne, again associated in their character of mothers (p. 82).

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[1] Cf. the order of the scenes in the Manual; Didron, *l.c.* 321.

[2] Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 356. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, 43. *E.g.* in S. Maria Bartholomew has a white beard; in the Byzantine representations he is a youthful personage. On the other hand, John is beardless, as usual in Western art; the Byzantine type is an old man with a long beard.

[3] Lethaby and Swainson, *Sancta Sophia*, 290. The design in S. Maria Antiqua is almost exactly the same as one on a seventh-century door near Safa in Syria. De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, T. 24 and p. 69; reproduced in Cattaneo, *Architettura in Italia*, Fig. 24.

Immediately to the left of the panel (47), on the dark blue background behind the looped up drapery of the dado, the letters ΘΑ, forming the end of a word, are inscribed perpendicularly.

We now turn to the end-wall of the Sanctuary (49). The paintings here cover the whole wall up to the crown of the barrel-vault. They are much damaged, especially in the upper portion where only the right side remains. The scheme is arranged in horizontal bands continued on either side of the apse down to the drapery dado. Including the latter, there were six (perhaps seven) such bands or zones.

On the highest zone only fragments of the right half of the Crucifixion scene remain. The figure on the Cross was not draped. The head was erect, with open eyes, and surrounded by a cruciform nimbus. Above the Cross on either side two seraphim were represented in the form of a head surrounded by six wings, the insides of which are covered with eyes. They rest on red clouds. Below is the nimbus of one of the figures at the foot of the Cross, viz., John. The space to the right of the Cross is occupied by a crowd of white-robed angels, standing turned towards the Saviour, and bending forwards in adoration; the hands held in front with the palms outwards. The inner group is robed in red, and the outer in white drapery of the classical pattern. Their feet are sandalled. Even in their damaged condition some of the heads are of great beauty. They stand at about the level of the body of Christ on the Cross, and the space below them on either side of the Crucifixion group was occupied by two blocks of inscriptions (11 lines), of which, as stated above, only that on the right survives.

The inscriptions, which are painted in white letters on a red ground, consist of passages from the Prophets relating to the Passion, taken from the Septuagint. Each passage is preceded by the name of the Prophet from whom it is taken. The lines read as shown on the following page.[1]

The words are not spaced in the original. The diphthong *ου* is always written ȣ.

Apart from cases of vernacular spelling (*e.g.*, the exchange of *ε* and *αι* in *θυγατεραις* l. 1, *θησομε* l. 7, *οψεσθαι* l. 10) the quotations are treated with a certain amount of freedom, chiefly in the way of omissions. This is specially noticeable in the first passage, and was no doubt due to exigencies of space. The last two passages require some explanation. (iv) is taken from Baruch, and it may be remarked that it appears under his name in the Byzantine Manual, though in a different connexion.[2] Among the mosaics in the nave of S. Sophia at Constantinople this text is inscribed on a scroll held by Jeremiah,[3] and the combination is found again on the eleventh-century bronze doors of St. Paul's without the Walls.[4] There can be little doubt that the same attribution existed in S. Maria Antiqua for the final letters of the name of the Prophet preceding the text are ΑϹ which, in view of the instances given above, can only be restored as

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[1] As the height is great and I had not an opportunity of seeing the inscription close at hand, I give Marucchi's copy made shortly after the discovery (*Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, vi. (1900). 296. I have corrected it where possible.

[2] Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 294.

[3] Salzenberg, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel*, T. xxx. i. So, too, in the twelfth-century Byzantine mosaics of the church of the Martorana at Palermo.

[4] Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. 39, gives the words on the scroll as *Hic D(ominu)s n(oste)r et n(on) imputabitur alius.*

σαλομΩΝ♡ЄΞΗΛΘΑΤЄ ΘυγΑΤЄΡΑΙϹ Ι̅Λ̅Μ̅ ЄΝ τΩ ϹΤЄΦΑΝΩ ΟΝ ЄϹΤЄ	(i) Canticles iii. 11.
φανωσεΝ ΑυΤΟΝ Η Μ̅Η̅Ρ̅ ΑΥτΟΥ ЄΝ ΗΜЄΡΑ ΝΥΜΦЄΥϹЄΩϹ αυτΟΥ ЄΝ ΗΜЄΡΑ	
ευφροσυΝης Αυτου♡ ⊢ΖΑχΑΡΙΑϹ♡Κ ϹΥ ЄΝ ΑΙΜΑΤΙ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗϹ ЄΞΑΠЄϹΤЄΙΛΑϹ	(ii) *a.* Zechariah ix. 11.
δεσΜΙΟΥϹ ϹΟΥ ЄΚ ΛΑΚκΟΥ ΟΥΚ ЄΧΟΝΤΟϹ ΥΔΩΡ♡Κ ЄϹΤΑΙ ЄΝ ЄΚΙΝЄΙ ΤΗ ΗΜЄΡΑ	*b.* xiv. 6, 7.
ουκ εσται ΦΩϹ ΑΛΛΑ ΨΥΧΟϹ Κ ΠΑΓΟϹ ЄϹΤΑΙ Κ Η ΗΜЄΡΑ ЄΚΙΝΗ ΓΝΩϹΘΗ ΤΩ Κ̅Ω̅ Κ	
ουχ ημεΡΑ Κ ΟΥ ΝυΞ Κ ΠΡΟϹ ЄϹΠЄΡΑ ЄϹΤΑΙ ΦΩϹ♡+ΑΜΩϹ Κ ΔΥϹЄΤΑΙ Ο ΗΛΙΟϹ	(iii) Amos viii. 9. 10.
μεσημβΡΙΑϹ Κ ϹΥσΚΟΤΑϹЄΙ ЄΠΙ ΤΗϹ ΓΗϹ ЄΝ ΗΜЄΡΑ ΤΟ ΦΩϹ Κ ΘΗϹΟΜЄ ΑΥΤΟΝ	
ως πενΘΟϹ ΑγΑΠΙΤΟΥ Κ ΤΟΙϹ ΜЄΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟϹ ΗΜЄΡΑ ΟΔΥΝΗϹ♡	
ιερεμιΑϹ♡ΟΥΤΟϹ Ο Θ̅Ϲ̅ ΗΜΩΝ ΟΥ ΛΟΓΗϹΘΡΙϹЄΤΑΙ ЄΤЄΡΟϹ ΠΡΟϹ ΑΥΤΟΝ (*sic*)	(iv) Baruch iii. 36.
////οψοΝΤαι ЄΙϹ ϹΝ ЄΞЄΚЄΝΤΙϹΑΝ+Κ ΩΨЄϹΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΖΩΗΝ ΥΜΩΝ ΚΡЄΜЄΝΗΝ	(v) *a.* John xix. 37.
απεΝαντι τΩΝ ΩΦΘΑΛΜΩΝ ΥΜΩΝ+♡	*b.* Deuteronomy xxviii. 66.

*ιερεμι*ΑC.[1] Baruch is frequently quoted as Jeremiah by the earlier Christian writers.[2]

The name of the Prophet from whom (v) is taken has disappeared, but as all the other cases come from the Old Testament we may assume that it was ZAXAPIAC, though the words come from John xix. 37, and not from Zechariah xii. 10, where the LXX have *ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με ἀνθ’ ὧν κατωρχήσαντο.* (v) *b* ought to have been preceded by the name MωYCHC, for the passage comes from Deuteronomy xxviii. 66 (*καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωή σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου*), interpreted as an allusion to the brazen serpent, the type of the Crucifixion (John iii. 14). As such it appears in the Byzantine Manual[3] and, *e.g.*, on the doors of St. Paul's without the Walls.[4]

The succeeding zone shows a crowd of persons standing, turned towards the centre of the picture, with opened hands, adoring the Crucified. The details are indistinguishable, but there can be little doubt that the scene is a version of the worship of the Lamb by the redeemed as expressed in such passages as Rev. v. 8 *sqq.*; vii. 9 *sqq.*; xiv. 1 *sqq.*

There appears to be a considerable gap below these figures before we come to the next zone; too wide for a mere border. Probably it was occupied by another band of figures.

The upper edge of the zone below this coincides with the crown of the apse, which therefore cuts it. That it forms part of the same design as the upper scenes is shown by the continuous framing border on the extreme right; which is intact from the top of the wall downwards, and encloses all the zones on this side.

Four nimbed bishops are represented, two on either side of the apse, turning towards the centre. Those on the left are very faint, but it is clear that the one on the extreme left had a square nimbus, and was therefore a contemporary person, the founder of the Church or donor of the pictures. As the fragmentary inscriptions show that the pair on the right are Popes, it is probable that the others are also. We will postpone for the moment the identification of the contemporary Pope. The figures on the right are vested in the usual way, and hold books in their hands covered by the chasuble. They stand in front of a low wall painted green, supporting short fluted columns without capitals, between which hang festoons of red drapery. On either side of their heads the name was inscribed in the form *S*(*an*)*c*(*tu*)*s* . . . *P*(*a*)*p*(*a*) *Romanus*. The letters have entirely disappeared on the left side. For the figure immediately to the right of the apse there only remains (on the right), *r*OM*a*NV*s* (the first three letters perpendicularly). The second figure has to the left of the nimbus, SC*s* MAR*tinus* (in three lines),[1] and to the right PP ROMANVS (the last word perpendicularly). It can only be Martin I. (649–655). He seems to be represented with the tonsure and a short beard.

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[1] Not noticed by Marucchi.

[2] Cf. Swete, *Introduction to the Greek Old Testament*, 274, for instances from Irenaeus, Tertullian, &c.

[3] Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 296.

[4] Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. 39, gives the words on the scroll held by Moses: *videvitis vita*(*m*) *v*(*est*)*ra*(*m*) *penden*(*tem*).

The subjects on the wall spaces flanking the apse which form the next zone have almost perished on the left, and on the right are, in their present state, confused with remains of earlier and later strata of painting. A close examination however shows that the decorative scheme which we have been describing was continued here by full-length figures of the Fathers (two on either side), standing facing the spectator. They were separated from the drapery dado below them, which is a continuation of that on the side-walls (p. 57), by an inscription in large white letters on a red ground. From its position and importance we may suppose it to have been the dedicatory inscription of the whole work, but only fragments of the left half remain.[2] They read:—

+SCAE · DI *genetr*ICI SEM*perque virgini mar*IAE ·

Of the Fathers on this side practically nothing is left but the nimbus and name of the first from the left: +SCS♡ AGVS*t*IN*u*S♡. On the right of the apse more is preserved. The heads, surrounded by the same large yellow nimbi, at once betray by their style that they come from the same hand which painted the medallions of the Apostles (p. 57). The (perpendicular) inscriptions identify the figures as Gregory Nazianzen and Basil. They read:

(Left) +Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙ*ος* (right) Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC♡ :
(Left) +Ο ΑΓΙΟC♡♡ (right) ΒΑCΙ*λιος*.

Mere traces of the drapery dado remain, as it has been covered up by later work.

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[1] Marucchi (*l.c.* 298) gives + SCS MAR*ti*NVS.

[2] Facsimile by Grisar, *Civiltà Cattolica*, Jan. 1901, p. 229.

From similarity of style we may associate with these paintings the work on the low screen walls which enclose the space between the two piers of the peristyle in front of the Sanctuary. Only the portion on the right (50) has preserved its decorations. The lateral screens on the inside (*i.e.* the side open to the Sanctuary) were worked into a seat covered with plaster, which is not returned on the cross-wall between the Sanctuary and the central part of the church. The surface which forms as it were the back of the seat was decorated on this side with three scenes. The first (from the left) is almost entirely destroyed, but apparently there was a background of mountains, as in the next panel. This is well preserved, and shows David (in a short tunic with a staff in his hand) standing over the prostrate body of Goliath. Behind are two hills, and the foreground is covered with tufts of flowers. The only inscription is (in two lines) **GOLIATH**. The third picture shows Isaiah warning Hezekiah of his approaching death. The prophet on the right, with a roll in one hand, raises the other with the 'benediction' gesture towards the king, who is lying on a bed (of the characteristic Byzantine shape seen also in the story of Joseph) and turns his face away towards the left. Between them, in the background, is a small beardless figure in white, apparently with a cruciform nimbus, and holding what may be a cross-staff. The inscriptions give:

+HEZECHIAS REX ❦
*i*SAIAS | PROPHETA
+DISPONE DOMVI TVAE | QVIA MORIERIS·❦[1]

The pictures are separated by panels treated with a design of intersecting circles divided into sections of different colours (Fig. 5). We shall find it repeated in other parts of the Church.

From the collocation of these scenes it is obvious that they do not belong to a series illustrating the Old Testament history, but are selected as types of the Gospel. As we shall see later, they were probably continued all round the screens which enclosed the choir (p. 88). The two scenes which have been just described typify respectively the victory of Christ over the powers of evil,[2] and the Resurrection.[3]

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[1] Isaiah xxxviii. 1.

[2] Cf. the passage of Augustine which is read as a comment on I. Samuel xvii. in the Roman Breviary (Dominica iv. post Pentecosten. Lect. vi.). *Venit enim verus David Christus, qui contra spiritalem Goliath, id est contra diabolum pugnaturus, crucem suam ipse portavit.*

[3] Cf. II. Kings xx. 5. 'Behold I will heal thee: on the third day thou shalt go up into the house of the Lord.'

Before we attempt to discover the date of these pictures let us first form some conception of their character as works of art, in order that our judgment may not be prejudiced by any preconceived ideas as to the style of a particular epoch. The condition of the walls compels us to draw our inferences mainly from the group of adoring angels, the medallions of the Apostles, and the small historical scenes. Their unity, so far as it is possible to speak with any certainty of mere wrecks of painting, is one of design rather than of execution. In fact it is obvious that several hands must have been employed in carrying out such an extensive scheme. But in looking at the fragments, one thing at least is clear, and that is that we have entered a different sphere of art from that to which the paintings previously examined belong. The general character of the wall-pictures before us may best be described as 'classical,' that is to say they present analogies with Roman art not only in such things as freedom of drawing and the types of the heads (the group of adoring angels is specially noticeable) but also in the method of modelling the forms in colour with which we are familiar in Roman wall-paintings. This may best be seen in the female figure (47) to the left of the side door, thoroughly Roman in character, and modelled with a firm and skilful hand. The heads of the Apostles are drawn with harder lines, but the types are again classical in character. The small historical scenes present some analogies with the miniatures in Byzantine Biblical MSS.,[1] but the attitude and drapery of the

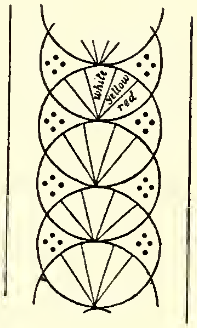

FIG. 5.—PATTERN OF INTERSECTING CIRCLES.

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[1] This appears chiefly in details such as the shape of the bed on which Hezekiah is lying, the two hills which form the background to the scene of David and Goliath, and the tufts of flowers

figures, and the method by which relief is given to them, all suggest the classical style of painting.

There remains the question of date. The paintings themselves fortunately provide the limits of time within which their execution must fall. The figure of the canonised Pope Martin I., who was banished to the Crimea for opposing the compromise by which Constans II. tried to close the Monothelete controversy and died there in 655, gives us the date before which the work cannot have been begun. On the other hand, it must have been executed before (probably a considerable time before) the accession of Paul I. (757) whose contemporary portrait in the apse (see below, p. 73) shows that that portion was redecorated in his time. In this interval of about a century is there any Pope to whose patronage the work can be attributed? An obvious answer is provided by the *Liber Pontificalis*, where in the life of John VII. (705–707) we read, *Basilicam itaque sanctae Dei genetricis, qui Antiqua vocatur, pictura decoravit.*[1] There can be little doubt then that he is the bishop represented on the extreme left of the zone of Popes, in the character of donor.

John VII. stands out among the Popes of his epoch as the initiator of considerable artistic works (with which, the 'Book of the Popes' tells us, his portrait was always associated)[2] both in the City churches, and above all in the mosaics of his famous chapel of the Virgin in the Atrium of St. Peter's, to which we have already had occasion to refer (p. 41). The latter survived till its destruction in the seventeenth century, and fragments of it are still preserved at Rome in the crypt of St. Peter's, in the Lateran Museum, and in S. Maria in Cosmedin, and at Florence in the church of S. Marco. A comparison between these fragments and the paintings of S. Maria Antiqua at once suggests itself, but the difference of the medium makes the results disappointing. Small scenes in mosaic are never very successful, and in this case the unskilfulness of the workmen has increased the rudeness and coarseness of effect, and conveys the impression that the fragments belong to a much lower level of art than the contemporary pictures. Nevertheless if the imagination translates the mosaics back into the original designs from which they were

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covering the ground there and in other instances. All these may be found, *e.g.* in the well-known Byzantine Bibles in the Vatican Library (Gr. 746, 747).

[1] *Lib. Pont.* i. 385.

[2] *Lib. Pont. l.c.: Fecit vero et imagines per diversas ecclesias quas, quicunque nosse desiderat, in eis eius vultum depictum repperiet.*

copied, it is possible to see that the latter were much freer and better drawn. This (in spite of much restoration) is especially the case with the fragment representing the Adoration of the Magi in the sacristy of S. Maria in Cosmedin, where the angel, standing, as in the picture in S. Maria Antiqua, between the Virgin and the Magi, must have been copied from a drawing of considerable merit and quite classical in character. It is still more interesting to notice that the scene in its complete state (preserved in drawings made before its destruction) was practically identical in treatment with the painting in S. Maria.[1]

If these pictures were executed by the orders of John VII., one of them calls for special notice. We have already seen that the Crucifixion in the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta was almost identical with John's mosaic of the same subject at St. Peter's (p. 41). The Crucifixion proper in the Sanctuary here, apart from its adjuncts, is too much damaged for any exact comparison to be made, but in one feature at least it belongs to an entirely different type. The Christ is nude, save for the loin-cloth (*perizoma*). It might be suggested that the picture in S. Maria was earlier than the mosaic of St. Peter's, but when we consider how different is the setting of the scene here, it is perhaps not surprising that a different type was used. Nevertheless it would be difficult to find a parallel to it at this epoch.[2]

We can now suggest as a restoration of the fragmentary dedicatory inscription (p. 62),

S(an)c(t)ae D(e)i genetrici semperque Virgini Mariae | *qui appellatur Antiqua Iohannes ind(ignus) ep(iscopu)s fecit.*[3]

We must now examine the fragments of painting in the Sanctuary which are either earlier or later than the decorations of John VII. The latter were apparently the only treatment which the back wall above the apse ever received. But the apse itself, and still more the spaces on either side of it were frequently redecorated. The fragments are best preserved and the different strata most easily distinguished on the space to the right of the apse.

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[1] Garrucci, iv. T. 279, 280.

[2] The nude Christ appears in the earliest representations (*e.g.* the doors of S. Sabina at Rome, and the ivory box in the British Museum, both probably of the fifth century). Both types occur in the eleventh-century Byzantine Psalter in the British Museum (Add. 19352, f. 87b, 96a, 172b).

[3] The form is suggested by John VII.'s inscription at St. Peter's (Garrucci, iv. T. 279, p. 97; De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* ii. p. 418).

Here the lowest and earliest, and now, by the accident of the fall of the later surface, the most prominent figure is the Virgin, robed and crowned like a Byzantine Empress, seated on a jewelled throne with curved arms. The Child is seated on her lap, and both face the spectator (51). In her left hand the Virgin holds what appears to be a handkerchief marked with a cross.[1] The Child holds a jewelled book. To the right can be detected the lower portion of a white-robed figure offering to the Virgin, or rather to the infant Christ, his crown (therefore a martyr) supported by the covered hands. The picture, which is well preserved, is elementary in drawing and modelling (*e.g.* the hands), coarse and crude in effect, and altogether much inferior to the paintings of John VII. It is in fact, just such work (possibly as old as the second half of the sixth century) as we might expect to find in a church which had no special importance until it was taken under the patronage of a Pope. We must suppose that the Madonna originally formed the centre of a symmetrical composition, and that the picture is therefore older than the construction of the apse which destroyed the left side (together with part of the Virgin's throne), containing, no doubt, another saintly figure corresponding to the one on the right, and extending as far as the rectangular niche in the middle of the wall (p. 21).

When the apse was constructed the remains of this picture were covered up by another of which all that has survived is two heads, apparently of angels turning towards one another. Some of their white drapery can be seen, and also part of the wing of the one to the right. Probably they were standing on either side of a Madonna (all trace of whom has disappeared), so that the original subject, the patroness of the Church, was repeated in a new form. The well painted heads, with their classical features and liquid eyes, remind one of ancient Roman painting. This subject was, in its turn, replaced by the (presumable) work of John VII. *i.e.* the figures of the Fathers (p. 62).

When we turn to the space on the left of the apse, where the fall of the plaster has revealed the lower part of the earlier strata more fully, we see that the earliest was a panel of elaborate but rather coarsely painted imitation of marble incrustation, forming a dado.[2]

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[1] Cf. p. 52.

[2] Portions of this can also be seen on the side-walls of the Sanctuary, but there are no indications of what came above it there.

Probably this belongs to the same series of decorations as the Madonna on the other side. The upper part of the design is concealed from us. It was covered up at a later date by two full-length figures, to which corresponded two similar figures on the other side of the apse. Those on the left are the best preserved. Their dress shows that they are bishops, for like the figures in the body of the church (p. 35) they are vested in chasubles (dark red or brown) over dalmatics with red borders to the sleeves, and round their necks they wear the sacred pallium marked with Maltese crosses. In front of them they hold opened scrolls covered with Greek lettering. The two figures on the right of the apse are more fragmentary, but here it can be seen clearly that they are later than the Madonna; and though by the one to the left, only +Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ, but not the name, is preserved, the name of the one to the right remains legible, ΙωΑΝΝΗϹ.[1] They must therefore represent four Fathers of the Church, the last of the four being St. John Chrysostom; and the scrolls which they hold should contain quotations from their works. Enough is left of the bearded faces and of the drapery to show that the style of painting was coarse. The figures were covered up at a later date by John VII.'s series of Fathers, and the drapery dado belonging to it.

The names in every case but one have disappeared, and we are left to conjecture what they may have been, unless the writing on the scrolls can provide some clue. Those on the left are fairly well preserved, but those to the right of the apse are very fragmentary. The following are the results which appear. We begin as usual from the left:

(i) At the beginning three or four lines have disappeared.

Ǒ
⅃ΟΙ ΑϹΟΠ
ΕΡΕΙΔΗΟΝΕϹΧ
ΗΚΕΝΤΟ/ΙΙΕΝΛ
ΟΓΟVΚΑΤϹ/¯ΑΖΟ
Μᴗ/ΟVΟ/ΡΕϹΤ
ΗΝΤΟVΛ//ΟV·Τ
ΟVΔΕϹΟΜΑΤΟϹΕΚ

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[1] The name has misled Federici (*l.c.* 29, 32) into thinking that they are the four Evangelists. The dress alone would make this impossible.

ΤЄΛΟVΤΟϹϹ ΙЄΡЄϹΤΗ
ΝΤΟVϹΟΜΑΙωϹ·ΚΑΙΤ
ΟΜЄΝ/VΤΟΝΔ///Α/
ΤVϹΘΑVΜΑϹΙΝΤΟΔЄ
ΤVϹVΒΙϹϹЄΙΝVΠΟ
ΠЄΠΤΟΚЄΝ ~

This is a quotation from the Greek version of the famous 'Tome' of St. Leo, *i.e.*, the letter which he wrote to Flavianus, Bishop of Constantinople in A.D. 449 against the heresy of Eutyches, and he is the Father represented in the painting.[1] The passage is taken from Ch. 4, and should be read on the scroll as follows :[2]

['Ενεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκα-
τέρα μορφὴ με-
τὰ τῆς θατέρ]ου
[κοι]νων[ί]ας ὅπ-
ερ ἴδιον ἔσχ-
ηκεν·τοῦ μὲν λ-
όγου κατε[ρ]γαζο-
μέ[ν]ου ὅ[πε]ρ ἐστ-
ὶν τοῦ λ[όγ]ου, τ-
οῦ δὲ σώματος ἐκ-
τελοῦ<ν>τος ὅπερ ἐστὶ-
ν τοῦ σώματος· καὶ τ-
ὸ μὲν [α]ὐτῶν δ[ιαλ]ά[μπει]
τοῖς θαύμασιν, τὸ δὲ
ταῖς ὕβρεσιν ὑπο-
πέπτωκεν.

(ii.) Parts of all the lines (eleven) are preserved.

VΤΟ¯ΟϹ
//Λ ЄΝΟΝΟVΧ
/ΝΑΙ ΟΘϹΛΗ
/Α VΔЄΓΑ

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[1] The identification is due to the Rev. F. E. Brightman.

[2] Labbe-Cossart, *Concilia*, iv. 1220. Mansi, *Concilia*, v. 1377 A. cf. vi. 959. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, liv. 768, and see the Introduction to the Letter for illustrations of the use of the Tome in the church services at Rome.

I ЄCTINTOЄMON
TOVCOVKЄXOPЄIC
/ЄNONAΛΛATOKOI
/ONЄMOVI   AICO
VON   OCMHAΘЄO
THCOVTON   B
VΛHCЄIC+

This is taken from St. Gregory Nazienzen (Oratio xxx, c. 12), who is therefore the person represented. It is to be restored as follows:[1]

[Ἴν' ᾖ τοιο]ῦτο τὸ σ-
[υν]α[γόμ]ενον, οὐχ
[ἵ]να π[οιῶ τ]ὸ θέλη-
[μ]α [τὸ ἐμόν, ο]ὐδὲ γά-
ρ ἐστιν τὸ ἐμὸν
τοῦ σοῦ κεχωρισ-
[μ]ένον, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοι-
[ν]ὸν ἐμοῦ τ[ε κ]αὶ σο-
ῦ, ὧν ὡς μία θε[ό-]
της οὕτω μ[ία] β[ο-]
ύλησις.

(iii) Part of the first line is preserved.

ᴄIOˋЄI I   IOV
APIACЄK////VΠ//I
A///VΠNCΛOΓOV
OЄOP   ЄOPA
KЄN   OVTON
XA   VΔЄ
TI   A
OA   C
H∪tı/Φ
A
M/

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[1] Ed. Bened. i. 548. Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi. 120. The identification is due to Mr. C. Turner and the Rev. H. A. Wilson of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Some four or five lines below the last fragment appear the letters ЄNΠ.

The Father represented is St. Basil, from whose treatise, *De Spiritu Sancto*, the quotation comes. It is distinguished from the others by having a title, and reads as follows:[1]

[Βασιλ]είου ἐπι[σκό]που
[Καισ]αρίας ἐκ [το]ῦ π[ερ]ὶ
ἁ[γίο]υ πν(εύματο)ς λόγου.
Ὁ ἑωρ[ακώς με] ἑώρα-
κεν [τὸν π(α)τ(έ)ρα,] οὐ τὸν
χα[ρακτῆρα ο]ὐδὲ
τὴ[ν μορφήν, κ]α-
θα[ρὰ γὰρ συνθέσεω]ς
ἡ θεί[α] φ[ύσις, ἀλλὰ τὸ]
ἀ[γαθὸν τοῦ θελή-]
μα[τος ὅπερ σύνδρ-
ομον ὂν τῇ οὐσίᾳ
ὅμοιον καὶ ἴσον
μᾶλλον δὲ ταὐτὸν]
ἐν π[(ατ)ρὶ καὶ υἱῷ θε-
ωρεῖται].

(iv) The scroll held by St. John Chrysostom is almost illegible. The letters are smaller than in the other cases. The first two lines are entirely destroyed.

ΛON
A VC ϲI \ΘAPA
ΨVXHN ICI
ıHN A M
ˈωMⱵ IЄ
NOVNΠᴄ I
HΨAM

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[1] *De Spiritu Sancto*, § 12., ed. Bened. (Gaume), c. viii; Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, xxxii. 105. The identification is due to Mr. C. H. Turner.

TOCXAIP ΚΑΙ IPЄ
ΑΙЄ ΠΛ C A
ON ON
I HCΨ
Κ/
ΓΙω Є Θ

The passage is taken from the spurious *Sermo in S. Thomam Apostolum*, and can be restored as follows:[1]

['Ιωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστ-
όμου ἐκ τοῦ λόγου εἰς
Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀπόστο]λον.
[ταῦτ]α [ἀκο]ύσ[ας] ἐκάθαρα
[τὴν] ψυχὴν [ἀπ]ιστ[ίας,
ἀπεδυσάμην] τὴν ἀμ-
[φίβολον γ]νώμη[ν, ἀ]νέ-
[λαβον τὸν] νοῦν πεπ[εισμ-
ένον], ἠψάμ[ην τοῦ σώ-
μα]τος χαίρ[ων] καὶ τρέ-
[μων, κ]αὶ ἐ[ξή]πλ[ω]σα
[μετὰ τ]ῶν [δακτύλ]ων
κ[αὶ τὸ τ]ῆς ψ[υχῆς ὄμμα],
κα[ὶ δύο λοιπὸν ἐνερ-]
γ<ε>ιῶ[ν] ἠ̣[σ]θ[όμην].

Mr. Brightman has explained the selection of these passages by pointing out that they all appear among the *Testimonia Patrum* cited at the Lateran Council of 649 which condemned the 'Type' or edict by which Constans II. tried to silence the Monothelete controversy.[2] This being so, two important inferences may be drawn with regard to the decorations of this part of the church. In the first place this series of Fathers, together, perhaps, with the angels flanking a Madonna on the

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[1] Ed. Bened. (Paris, 1738), viii. App. p. 15. Migne *Patr. Gr.*, lix. 500. Mr. Brightman identified the quotation.

[2] The references are :

Basil.	Mansi, x.	1077	=	Labbe-Cossart, vii.	286.
Gregory.	—	—	=	—	—
Leo.	—	1097	=	—	304.
Chrysostom.	—	1105	=	—	314.

right of the apse, which we saw belonged to the second stratum of painting (p. 67), must have been executed between 649 and 705, the date of the accession of John VII. who replaced them by a new set of pictures. We should thus be able, as has been already suggested (p. 8), to date the successive decorations of the Sanctuary at intervals of, approximately, fifty years ; the earliest about the year 600 or rather before, the second about the middle of the seventh century (perhaps before the exile of Martin I. in 653), the third at the beginning of the eighth century, and the last in the second half of the eighth century. Secondly, if the paintings which we may thus associate with the time of Martin I. were a monument of the triumph of Roman orthodoxy in the Council of 649, we now see a special reason for the prominence given to Martin in the decorations which we have attributed to John VII. (p. 62). If the previous series was a monument of the protest headed by the Pope, that which replaced it fifty years later did not omit to commemorate the Pope himself on whom that protest had entailed virtual martyrdom. We may further suppose that the Fathers who formed part of the new decorations—though, as we have seen, only the heads survive (p. 62), also carried in their hands scrolls with their *testimonia.* Basil and Gregory would then be repeated from the older series. Augustine is found among the Fathers cited at the Council, and at considerable length.[1] The fourth has entirely disappeared, but we can hardly believe that Leo would be omitted from such a series in a Roman church.

The centre of the apse is occupied by a colossal seated figure of Christ (52), blessing with the right hand and holding a book in the left. On either side was a tetramorph, *i.e.* the heads of the four Evangelic animals combined in one form and provided with six wings.[2] The one on the right is the best preserved. Standing on the ground, to the left of the Saviour, and represented on a much smaller scale, is a Pope with a blue square nimbus. The well preserved head (full-face) with its black hair, short beard, and rather melancholy expression, has a certain individuality. On the left was his name (in two perpendicular columns)

+SANCTISSIMVS | PAVLVS PP | ROMANVS+

The last word is inscribed horizontally over the nimbus.[3] The apse was therefore redecorated by Paul I. (757–767). The background shows in the upper portion a blue sky studded with white stars, and below, from the level of the shoulders of Christ, a wall of broad perpendicular stripes alternately red and green. In its damaged state it is impossible to say much about the artistic character of this work. The figure of Christ is impressive from its size, but the Pope is of the same character as the portraits in the chapel of St. Quiricus.

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[1] Mansi, x. 1083.

[2] As in Ezekiel i. 6 *sqq*. Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 265.

[3] All that can now be seen is *sanctis*SIMVS | PAV*l*V*s* | ROMAN*us*+

Behind these paintings a few traces of the earlier decoration may be detected. To the left is a large yellow nimbus edged with red, and beyond it perhaps another. Below the feet of Christ, to the right, appears part of a Greek inscription also belonging to this earlier stratum, *i.e.*, probably, to the work of John VII. The fragments (white letters on red ground, very blurred) must belong to the last third of the inscription. The letters so far as they can be made out are as follows:

ONKNV//OΘЄOCЄII/NTHNCHNЄIPINHN/OCЄIMЄ////////

Possibly this may have been intended to read:

τ]ὸν κ(ύριο)ν . . . ὁ Θεὸς ἡμ[ῶ]ν τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην [δ]ὸς ἡμῖν . . .

The dado of the apse shows coarsely painted red drapery with a pattern of interlacing white circles (belonging to Paul's work), covering up the earlier white and yellow hangings which can be seen on the side-walls.

Behind the scenes from the life of Christ on the right wall there are faint traces of an earlier series, apparently also of the life of Christ, for the only intelligible scene seems to represent the Procession to Calvary with the three crosses being carried along.

Before leaving the Sanctuary we may notice that a low skirting of marble runs round the base of the walls. It may be a survival from the original decorations of the building. The pavement is better preserved here than in any other part of the Church, and is clearly of two dates (Fig. 6). The greater part consists of square compartments of geometrical patterns in white and coloured marbles (verde antique and porphyry) with a porphyry disc in the centre, separated by bands of white marble. Similar pavements (probably not older than the sixth century) may be seen in the S.E. chambers of the portico of the Basilica Aemilia. It must be remembered that excellent work of this kind could still be done in Rome as late as the ninth century, as we see from the chapel of S. Zeno in

S. Prassede.[1] The work here is decidedly inferior. At a later date the strip next to the wall on the left and in front of the apse was replaced, no doubt as a restoration, by much ruder work consisting of narrow compartments enclosing discs and lines of porphyry, set in a field of white marble tesserae. The same kind of pavement appears again in the part of the Basilica Aemilia already referred to, which, apparently, was converted into a house in the Byzantine period. Fragments of it may also be noticed in the lower church of S. Clemente (abandoned towards the end of the eleventh century) on the left side of the nave.

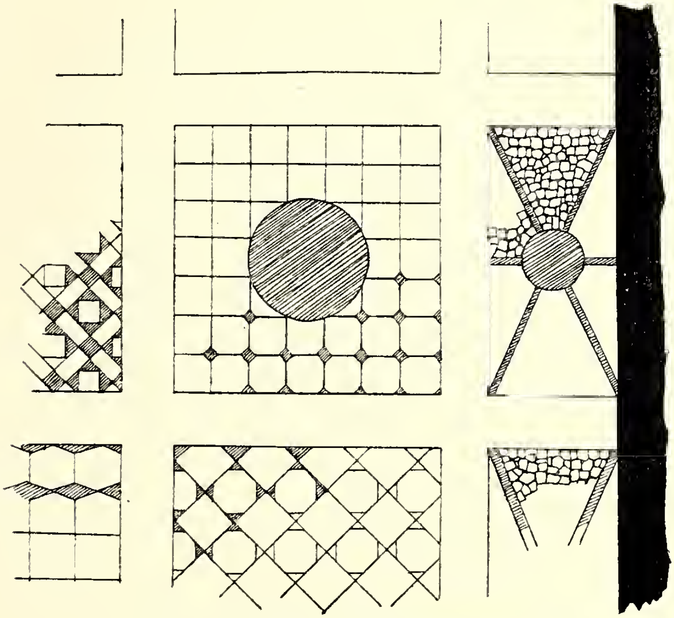

FIG. 6.—PAVEMENT IN THE SANCTUARY.

The front part of the Sanctuary, enclosed by the screen already described (p. 63), was also repaved in the later style, and at a rather higher level, so that there was a step down into the inner part of the Sanctuary. It is to be noticed that the pavement is earlier than the screens which have been built on the top of it. On the right, near the cross screen, one of the white marble bands still retains the outline of two feet, the well-known pagan symbol of a vow for a safe journey. Beside it is inscribed COSMESES. In a neighbouring compartment a small porphyry disc is surrounded by a ring of white marble on which is engraved

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[1] Cattaneo, *Architettura*, Fig. 88. For pavements of the same style in the eleventh century church of St. Luke of Stiris, see Schultz and Barnsley, *op. cit.*, 36.

MATIA·COMPSE.[1]

The lettering in both cases is of the second century.

There can be little doubt that this raised platform indicates the position of the altar, *i.e.* it corresponds to the *bema* proper of Byzantine churches. The altar in the latter is generally placed, as here, well in front of the apse.[2]

No traces remain of the altar which, we must suppose, was removed with everything else of a portable nature, when the church was abandoned. We know from the 'Book of the Popes' that Leo III. (795–816) gave to the high altar of S. Maria Antiqua a silver ciborium, *i.e.* a canopy of wood plated with silver.[3] In another part of the church one arch of a marble ciborium has been found, which with the spandrels above it is covered with characteristic eighth-century ornament.[4] We may imagine that it belonged to the canopy which was discarded when Leo III.'s more magnificent present took its place.

We now pass to the chapel (G) on the right of the Sanctuary. The end-wall, like the chapel of St. Quiricus, has a square niche or recess, but wider and lower down. This recess is not part of the original construction of the building, like that in the chapel of St. Quiricus, but has been rudely excavated in the wall. The floor of this chapel appears to have been lowered long after the building had become a church, and perhaps it was then that the recess was made. Its lower part, which was, presumably, some feet above the floor, is actually below the level of the threshold of the side-door into the Sanctuary; and it will be noticed that the row of saints, which is the chief ornament of the wall on the right, is above the level of the top of the recess, so that if the drapery dado below them were continued round the chapel it would be cut by the recess. But the base of this dado is too high up to have ever marked the level of the floor, and we must suppose that below it the wall was originally covered by panelling or by a structure of some kind. If we were to suppose that this chapel were the *diaconicon* of the church, the *armaria* which held the sacred books, vessels, and vestments, might have occupied this position. When the floor was lowered these arrangements disappeared; and it became necessary, as the original dado was left, so to say, in the air, to provide a new one to fill up the interval between it and the new floor. This was done by painting on the bare brickwork, for at this level there was no longer the ancient coating of plaster,[1] which, apparently, was utilised throughout the Church, wherever it existed, as a surface for the Christian paintings.

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[1] Federici's extraordinary idea (*l.c.* 21) that this belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century and forms the signature of the mosaic worker—MATIA COMP*o*SE, scarcely needs refutation. For instances of these 'libertine' names see *C.I.L.* vi. 16061 *sqq.* and 22289 *sqq.*; and cf. 22296 *Matia C. L. Gnoste.*

[2] Cf. Salzenberg, *Alt-chr. Baud.* T. xxxix. 3 (St. Nicholas at Myra); and the plan of the church of St. Luke of Stiris (Schultz and Barnsley, Pl. I).

[3] *Lib. Pont.* ii. 14: *super altare maiore cyburium ex argento purissimo.*

[4] Reproduced in Rivoira, *Origini della Architettura Lombarda*, 202, Fig. 277. Fragments of various marble shafts, also found in the church, may have belonged to the columns which supported it.

This late decoration is fairly preserved in the right-hand corner of the right wall, where we see on a white ground (with the brickwork showing through) a yellow Latin cross, jewelled and adorned with pendants, and surrounded by monograms which read, Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς Θ(εο)ῦ υ(ἱὸ)ς νι[κ]ᾶ.[2]

The most important and best preserved fragments of painting in the chapel are the Saints on the right and entrance walls (53). If the series was ever continued on the left wall all traces have disappeared. The figures begin on the right wall, just to the right of the indications of a screen or beam which, as in the other chapel, marked off the space immediately in front of the altar. The pictures inside this have gone. Outside, the following can be seen. The names are inscribed perpendicularly beside the figures and are always preceded by + Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ. We pass from left to right.

(i) The lower part of a saint in Byzantine official costume (red chlamys and white tunic).

(ii) An ecclesiastic. Only the tonsured head with its nimbus, and the bottom of the chasuble and tunic are left. As the monk who comes next is evidently Dometius, the name inscribed to the right of the ecclesiastic's head must belong to the latter. It is ΒΑΡΧ'////, perhaps Barachisius, a Persian martyr (*Mart. Rom.*, March 29; cf. Ruinart, 584).

(iii) A monk in black, the head covered by a a pointed cowl. To the right is the name, ΔωΜΕΤιϹ❦. *Mart. Rom.* (Aug. 7, as also in the Eastern Calendar): *Nisibi in Mesopotamia S. Dometii monachi Persae, qui cum duobus discipulis sub Iuliano apostata lapidatus est.*

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[1] *I.e.* the backing on which we must suppose that the original marble decorations of the walls were fixed.

[2] For the last part cf. *e.g.* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vii. (1886), 153, and the (qy. eighth-century) pectoral cross in *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* vi. 260, T. x. It is very common.

(iv) A bearded figure in classical costume (red pallium), with some sort of headdress (indistinct), holding what appears to be a scroll bound round with a ribbon. The name inscribed to the right apparently belongs to the next saint (Panteleemon), so that here, perhaps by a miscalculation of the spaces, the name has been omitted. The object in his hand, and perhaps the headdress, show him to have been one of the medical saints (see below).

(v) A lay saint (beardless) in Byzantine official costume (yellow chlamys and white tunic), holding cross and crown. To the left of the head is inscribed, ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ. Panteleemon, known in the West as Pantaleon, is regularly represented in this manner in Byzantine art,[1] so that here the name and the figure must go together. He is another of the medical saints, and well known both in East and West (July 27).

(vi) A tonsured ecclesiastic in a red chasuble holding a cross and, perhaps, a book. The figure is much damaged and it is impossible to say whether or no he were a bishop. To the left of the head is inscribed +ΟΑΓΙΟϹ❦. The name which was to the right has disappeared.

On the entrance wall there were originally seven figures. Only those on the left are distinguishable.

(vii) A beardless saint in a long cloak open in front, resembling a cope (red with a pattern of large circles). He holds a roll, and on his head was some kind of headdress. To the left is his name, ΙωΑΝΝΗϹ. See (ix).

(viii) A saint (beardless) in classical costume (tunic and pallium): ΚΕΛϹΟϹ. As all the other saints of the series are Eastern, this is probably not the Celsus of Milan, the companion of Nazarius, who appears in the modern Roman Calendar on July 28th, but the martyr of Antioch under Diocletian (Jan. 9th in the Roman Martyrology), whose relics, with those of his companion Julianus, are preserved in the church of SS. Celso e Giuliano (near the Ponte S. Angelo) which is at least as old as the twelfth century.[2]

(ix) Little more than the nimbus is left, but the name may be restored: ΑΒΒΑκυρος.

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[1] Didron, ii. 330, 400. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, 55 (cf. 44, n. 5)

[2] Armellini, *Chiese*, 363.

Among the Eastern saints received in Rome during the Byzantine occupation, few had a greater vogue than Abbacyrus and John (Jan. 31st.). Singly or together they are represented no less than four times in this church, and though their names have disappeared from the modern Calendar and lists of dedications, Rome and its environs once contained four or five churches under their patronage. They owed their popularity to the belief that their intercession was peculiarly efficacious in curing sickness, for they belong to the class of medical saints. Cyrus, who had been a physician at Alexandria and then became a monk (hence ἀββᾶς Κῦρος—Abbat Cyrus), suffered, together with a soldier called John and others, during the Diocletian persecution in Egypt. Their cult dates from the discovery of their bodies in the time of Arcadius; but their relics were not brought to Rome till just before the capture of Alexandria by the Saracens in 634, when they were deposited in the little church on the right bank of the Tiber, opposite to St. Paul's without the Walls, which, under a strangely corrupted form, still preserves the tradition of its name as Sta Passera.[1]

The back wall of the recess behind the altar contains full-length figures of five saints, very much damaged (54). Each has the nimbus and the name preceded by + Ο ΑΓΙΟC. Beginning from the left we see:

(i) A saint with a short beard, in classical costume (red pallium), holding in his right hand a roll like that described above[2]: ΚΟCΜΑC. The medical Saints Cosmas and Damianus, martyrs of the Diocletian persecution, had become popular in Rome even before the Byzantine Conquest, as may be seen from the still-existing church on the opposite side of the Forum, founded by Felix IV. (526–530). But they were none the less Eastern importations, and during the Byzantine period several churches were dedicated to them in Rome. Unlike some others, they maintained their position in the West, and still appear in the modern Roman Calendar on September 27th.

(ii) The next figure is much damaged, but the name can be read: ΑΒΒΑΚΥΡΟC.

(iii) A deacon in a long white tunic (the dalmatic) with two red stripes down the front, and wide sleeves edged with a double border of the same colour. With his right hand he is swinging a censer, which is an open bowl (apparently containing fire) hung by three chains. ϹΤЄΦΑΝΟϹ. The central position of St. Stephen perhaps suggests that the chapel (in its later form) was dedicated under his name, or that some Pope of the name of Stephen was interested in these decorations. We might think of Stephen II. (752–757), the successor of Zacharias, or Stephen III. (768–772), the successor of Paul I. But as this chapel corresponds to the *diaconicon* in the plan of a Byzantine church, the figure of St. Stephen may refer to the purpose to which the chamber was devoted.

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[1] Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, iii. (which is almost entirely taken up with an account of their miracles, and sermons in their honour) p. xi.; Armellini, *Chiese*, 945.

[2] P. 78 (iv).

(iv) Nothing is left of the figure.[1] The name however is clear, ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙϹ. It would have been interesting to see how Procopius (July 8th) was represented, for while the older tradition (followed by the Western Martyrologies) describes him as an ecclesiastic of the rank of Reader or Exorcist, the Eastern Church, where he was much more famous, made him a soldier, and he is regularly represented as such in Byzantine art.[2]

(v) The figure is gone, but ΔΑΜΗΑΝΟϹ can be read. See on (i). The sides of the recess are decorated with the design of intersecting circles described on p. 63.

It is interesting to notice, as illustrating the vogue of certain saints in Rome in the eighth century, that most of these names are to be found in the list of relics in S. Angelo at the time of its restoration by Theodotus (p. 43). The following names occur in it; Stephanus, Celsus, Abbaquirus, Iohannes, Dometius, Procopius, Pantaleon, Cosmas, Damianus.[3]

With regard to the artistic character of these pictures it may be said that the fragments on the right wall, which are comparatively well preserved, show the same kind of merit as the (presumable) work of John VII. in the Sanctuary, though they are not by the same hand. The faces are well modelled, and the expression is dignified. The figures in the recess are so much dilapidated that it is difficult to pass any judgment on their original character, but they appear to be much coarser than those on the side-wall.

The right wall has lost all its decorations. High up are some indistinct graffiti, among which can be distinguished a nimbed figure and a cross with the Α and ω hanging from its arms, but reversed, *i.e.* the ω is to the left. It has been pointed out with regard to a similar instance in Rome that this peculiarity is probably due to a Greek hand.[1]

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[1] Just where it came, a hole has been broken through the wall in mediaeval times, in order to obtain access to a well dug in the floor of the chapel.

[2] Ruinart, 386. Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, 205.

[3] Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 174.

We now pass to the aisle on the right side of the church (D). For various reasons the paintings on the main wall here have suffered more than those on the opposite side of the church, and the merest scraps remain. We can see that there were two tiers corresponding to the Old Testament scenes on the left wall, and, so far as can be judged by the faint outlines remaining, that they were in the same style, and perhaps by the same hands as the latter. Below them, instead of the row of saints, there were apparently more scenes. The surviving fragments, which are to be found on that part of the wall which is opposite the space between the north-west pier of the peristyle and the first column on the right, seem to point to a series connected with the Gospel History (55). The inscriptions, like those on the opposite wall, should be in Latin. Nevertheless it is difficult to see how the first set of letters given under scene (i) is anything but the termination of a Greek name in *-ias*. It may be remembered that on the opposite wall the names which identify figures are inscribed perpendicularly, and the descriptions of the scenes horizontally. On the upper tier there can be made out :

(i) A nimbed figure in long drapery is bending or moving from the left towards the centre. On the background behind it, above a mountain, are the letters (perpendicularly) ΙΑϹΙ. To the right of the nimbed head appears (perpendicularly) ʼΑΝΝ. All the rest is gone.[2]

On the lower tier are the following :

(ii) A female figure like the Virgin (*i.e.* in a black or dark blue garment coming over the head), lying on a bed with, apparently, a swaddled infant beside her. She raises her hand towards a beardless figure on the left, who extends his right hand towards her. The traces certainly appear to correspond with a familiar representation of the Nativity in Byzantine art.

(iii) Three male figures standing and apparently conversing. The two outer ones are bearded, and all hold circular objects like dishes. Over the head of the first on the left is inscribed horizontally 'MAΓ. This might represent the Magi preparing for their journey.

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[1] M.G. Lacour-Gayet, *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1881, 229, on the graffiti of the columns of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. Cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 221. For other Western examples see *C.I.L.* v. 3100, viii. 450.

[2] In a church dedicated to the Virgin it would be natural to find a series giving the story of her life. If we restore the two names above as [Ζαχαρ]ίας and Ἄνν[α], it might be suggested that the scene is the Presentation of Mary in the Temple. Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 348.

(iv) The next scene shows the lower part of the same three figures, presumably the Magi presenting their offerings to the infant Christ.

This aisle, like that on the opposite side, was closed at its upper end by a screen with a gate in it. On the wall just outside this is a fragment of a scene, on a lower level than those previously described, which shows

(v) The conventional representation of a prison, standing isolated in the centre of the panel. At an oblong window appear three faces (beardless). It is difficult to say whether the heads are represented as surrounded by hair or by flames. The crossbars of the window are represented between the heads. On the right are the letters (perpendicularly) ◡OEA. The last letter is not certain.[1]

The most prominent object in this wall is a roundheaded, semi-circular niche (56) excavated in the wall opposite to the space between the north-west corner pier of the peristyle and the next column. It is painted with figures of the three Holy Mothers. In the middle stands Mary with the infant Jesus. $\overline{\text{SCA}}$ is inscribed to the left, but the name has gone. On the left is St. Anne holding the infant Mary, with $\overline{\text{SCA}}$ ANNA inscribed. On the right is Elizabeth with John the Baptist, and $\overline{\text{SCA}}$ E*li*SABET inscribed perpendicularly, as are the other names. These paintings are in a different style from any that we have yet seen, coarse and rude, yet not wanting in a certain firmness of touch, and not without suggestions of the classical style. In the peculiar effect of the white eyeballs they remind one of some ninth-century pictures in the lower church of S. Clemente and in the crypt of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. In any case they are among the latest works in the church, for the niche must have cut into the previous wall-paintings. There are indications that the space immediately in front was enclosed by a low brick screen, so that probably there was an altar under the niche. In illustration of this appearance of the cult of St. Anne at Rome it has been pointed out[2] that Pope Constantine was at Constantinople in 710, the year in which the relics of St. Anne were translated thither, and also that her story was represented on some embroideries given to S. Maria Maggiore by Leo III. (795–816) who, it may be remembered, was also a benefactor to S. Maria Antiqua. It may be added that the names SCA ANNA SCA ELISABET occur in the list of relics at S. Angelo in Pescheria.[1] But if we are right in believing that the three Holy Mothers appeared among John VII.'s decorations in the Sanctuary (p. 58), St. Anne must have been known at Rome by the beginning of the eighth century.

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[1] The identification of the subject is not obvious. The prison does not seem to be consistent with a representation of the Three Children in the furnace.

[2] By the Rev. H. M. Bannister. *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* vi. (1900) 294, n. 1.

We have now to examine the angle piers of the peristyle and the space between them, including the Choir. We begin with those nearest to the Sanctuary.

Pier on the left. On the larger face of the interior angle we see a fairly preserved painting of the Annunciation (57). The angel advances from the left, blessing with the right hand, and holding a long staff in the left. Mary is seated on a high cushioned chair. Between them on the ground is an object, perhaps a basket. The picture, with its attitudes, draperies, and modelling with high lights on the flesh, is a good example of the survival of the 'classical' style, and of considerable merit. Nevertheless the fall of part of the plaster reveals the fact that it is only the replica of an earlier work from which it has apparently been copied. The nimbus of the angel and the staff in his hand occupied the same position in both pictures, and the place of the feet has only been slightly changed. To the earlier stratum belongs the inscription (black letters on white ground), a combination (in the form of the 'Hail Mary') of the salutations of the angel (Luke i. 28) and of Elizabeth (*ib.* 42).

+ΧΑΙΡε κЄχαριτω-
ΜЄΝΗ Ο Κς μετὰ σοῦ
ЄΥΛΟΓΗΜένη σὺ
ЄΝΓΥΝΑΙΞΙ καὶ εὐ-
ΛΟΓΗΜЄΝΟς ὁ καρ-
ΠΟϹΤΗϹΚΟΙλίας σου

There can be little doubt that one of these pictures formed part of the decorations of John VII. Indeed the design is practically identical with the scene as represented in one of John's mosaics in his chapel at St. Peter's.[2]

On the smaller interior face, at right angles to the Annunciation, is a full-length beardless saint (lay), holding a cross before him in the right hand and a crown in the left covered by the chlamys. The latter is yellow with a pattern of red circles, and bears the tablion. There is a square of embroidery on the right arm. Beside him is inscribed (in two perpendicular columns), + Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟϹ. Though the effect is so much more stiff and 'Byzantine' (in the popular sense) than that of the Annunciation, it was executed at the same time as the second version and possibly by the same hand. Both show exactly similar treatment of the folds of hanging drapery with sharp angles. The contrast may be explained by the derivation of the Annunciation from a much earlier original.

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[1] Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 174, l. 22.

[2] Garrucci, iv. T. 280. 1.

Demetrius, a proconsul martyred at Thessalonica under Maximian, is one of the μεγαλομάρτυρες of the Eastern Calendar (Oct. 26th. *Mart. Rom.* Oct. 8th), and a prominent figure in the Byzantine scheme of church decoration.[1]

On the face of the pier which is on a line with the columns of the peristyle, is a fragment of the right side of a picture of the Virgin seated sideways, turned towards the right, with her hands clasped under the Child on her knee. Round her head was a large yellow nimbus. The style is 'classical' and not at all conventional in treatment. Above are the remains of lettering which may have referred to the picture on the upper tier, now entirely vanished. Below, on the fragment of a circle, is painted (white letters on black ground) ΧϹ.

Nothing is left on the side opposite to the left aisle. On the back face of the pier, looking towards the Sanctuary and the chapel of St. Quiricus, are traces of a large picture (very faint) representing Christ flanked by four figures (58). The one to the left represents the Virgin, and the bearded figure on the right John the Baptist. Part of his name still survives ἰωΑΝΝΙϹ. Of the outer pair only the traces of the head on the left have survived. It is on a smaller scale than the other figures, and perhaps belongs to a donor. Above the row ran a Greek inscription (very fragmentary), apparently continuous. On the left only detached letters can be made out. In the part above the head of the central figure is the following fragment:

////ΜΧΕΟϹΚ///ΕϹΕ////

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[1] Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 388. Considering how little the position of the pictures in the church corresponds with the directions of the Manual, it is perhaps only a coincidence that the latter puts St. Demetrius approximately in the place in which we find him here. 'Outside, towards the singers' choir, represent the principal martyrs: St. George on the right; St Demetrius on the left.' In later Byzantine art he is represented as a soldier, *e.g.* in the church of St. Luke of Stiris (Schultz and Barnsley, 61).

On the wall opposite are traces of a large picture representing the Three Children in the furnace (58*a*). They are nimbed, and stand in the flames, facing the spectator, with arms extended sideways, wearing cloaks fastened in front.[1]

The screens enclosing the space in front of the Sanctuary have on this side lost all their painted surface. The white marble posts for the gate in the middle still remain *in situ*. They are square, and fluted on every face, so that they are either adaptations of ancient work or else, perhaps, the original screen had open *cancelli* instead of a solid wall. We have already noticed (p. 75) that the present screen is later than the pavement on which it rests.

The pier on the right shows on its principal face two large pictures, one above the other (59). They are thoroughly 'classical' in style, and no doubt contemporary with the 'Annunciation' (p. 83) and the Virgin and Child (p. 84) opposite. We may therefore feel justified in including all the decorations of these piers among the works of John VII.

(i) The upper (much damaged) seems to represent Christ enthroned, attended by two Archangels. A male figure is seated on a throne with a red cushion and high footstool. On the right stands a draped figure with the right hand raised. A similar figure on the left.

(ii) In the centre, and facing the spectator, stands a nimbed woman enveloped in a purple mantle which comes up over her head. Her right hand is raised and opened outwards, and in her left she holds a fringed handkerchief. Around her are seven male figures of different sizes, each with the open hand raised. On either side of the woman is inscribed perpendicularly, Η ΑΓΙΑ ϹΟΛΟΜωΝΗ, and above the tallest figure on the left, ЄΛЄΑΖΑΡ. Underneath the picture are the remains of an inscription, the first part of which is quite gone. About the middle appears

////VMϹ IIϹ ЄPI'I////

The group represents the seven Maccabees standing around their mother Solomone (or Salomone). They were commemorated both in the East and West on Aug. 1st, as forerunners of the Christian martyrs. But the

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[1] The treatment of the subject is the familiar one in Byzantine art; *e.g.*, Schultz and Barnsley, *op. cit.*, Pl. 54, p. 57, n. 8. The remains are too fragmentary to show whether the angel was represented above the Children. We may well suppose that on the corresponding wall-space to the right of the Sanctuary (where all traces have vanished) the regular pendant to this scene, Daniel in the den of lions, was represented. Cf. Diehl, *Couvent de Saint Luc*, 58.

Eastern Calendars are peculiar in giving them names.[1] Eleazar occurs in these lists as the name of one of the brothers, and—although there is a large gap in the surface to the left—as there do not appear to have been more than seven figures besides that of Solomone, and the figure of Eleazar is that of a young man (he is beardless[2]), there can be little doubt of the identification here. Otherwise, it might have been suggested that he is the Eleazar who appears in the history of the Maccabees as the first martyr under Antiochus, and the example which was followed by the seven brethren. He is also commemorated by name with them in the Greek Calendar.[3]

On the smaller interior face of the pier, corresponding to St. Demetrius opposite, is a female saint in a white dress under a red mantle which comes over her head. She holds the cross and crown but the latter has disappeared. To the right of her head the name was inscribed, but the paint of the letters has gone.

On the face which corresponds with the columns of the peristyle, high up can be seen the lower part of a white-robed figure. The picture is framed with a red line.

On the back of the pier, facing towards the Sanctuary, are traces of three (or probably five, as on the opposite side) full-length nimbed figures. They appear to represent an ecclesiastic with a book, a figure holding a roll (cf. p. 78, no. iv), and a lay martyr with the cross and crown.

The scenes on the inside of the low screen enclosing the Sanctuary, which touches this pier, have been already described (p. 63). On the outer face, looking into the Choir, the scene nearest to the pier is fairly preserved (60). On the left is the wall, with towers at intervals (red), of a city, upon which stands a bearded man with raised hands, accompanied by other figures. Below, in the centre, stand two figures of which only the lower part is preserved. But they appear to be women, the one on the left in a jewelled dress, and the one on the right in grey. The right of the picture is occupied by a camp, with soldiers in conical helmets sleeping in the tents. On the last tower of the wall, and therefore nearly over the richly dressed female figure, is part of a perpendicular inscription which is to be completed thus, CAPYT O*lofernis*. There can be no doubt that the scene represents the exploit of Judith, and it appears here in the series of types with which the screens were decorated (cf. p. 63).[1]

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[1] Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, 230. Ἀβείμ, Ἀντωνίου, Γουρία, Ἐλεαζάρου, Εὐσεβωνᾶ, Ἀχείμ, Μαρκέλλου.

[2] He is so described in the Byzantine Manual (Didron, 328). The other Eleazar is an old man with a long beard.

[3] Nilles, *l.c.* Μνήμη τῶν ἁγίων ἑπτὰ παίδων τῶν Μακκαβαίων· καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν Σαλομονῆς· καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῶν Ἐλεαζάρου. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 18: Ἐλεάζαρός τις τῶν πρωτευόντων γραμματέων; and 3 vi. 1. In the Fourth Book of the Maccabees (xvi. 15) the mother is represented as present with her sons at the martyrdom of Eleazar, and encouraging them by his example. On the name Salomone see H. Achelis, *Martyrologien* in *Abh. der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, NF. vol. iii. No. 3 (1900), p. 44.

The choir seat was not returned on this side, and the scene is framed both above and below by the pattern of intersecting circles previously described (p. 63, Fig. 5).

The peristyle on this side, in front of the Sanctuary, was formed by an arch (now restored) resting on the two piers. The original spring of the arch on this side is preserved together with some of the painted decoration on its under-side. It shows a double ribbon-pattern in red on a black (*i.e.* probably blue) ground.

Pier to the right of the entrance. A small niche has been excavated in the principal face of the interior angle in which is painted (61) the Virgin and Child—hardly more than the bust. To the left is the monogram ΗΑΓ, and to the right ΜΡ for ἡ ἄγια Μαρία. The painting is rude, and perhaps of the same epoch as the three Mothers in the niche on the right wall (p. 82). In the sill of the niche is a cavity, perhaps intended to hold a light. On the space below the niche fragments of small figures appear. The one in the centre can be recognised as the regular Byzantine type of Daniel.[2] He stands facing the spectator, with hands extended sideways, wearing a white mantle lined with red and fastened in front over a green tunic and yellow hose. By his left foot is a small lion looking up at him. The one on the other side has disappeared. Daniel was flanked by two saints, but only a fragment of the one on the left (an ecclesiastic in a chasuble) remains.

The space in front of the niche, as far as the first column of the peristyle, is enclosed by screens, one of them being, of course, part of the main choir-screen. Probably, therefore, there was an altar here. The floor is paved with slabs of white marble and grey granite.

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[1] Cf. the representation of the scene in the Byzantine Manual (Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 288). 'A lofty city. Below it many tents are visible within which soldiers are asleep. In the midst [is the tent in which Holofernes lies]. Judith, clad in sumptuous apparel, stands before him, bearing in one hand a bloody sword, while with the other she places the head of Holofernes in a wallet which her servant holds for her,' &c. Cf. d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, iii. Pl. xlii. 3, where the scene (from the eighth century 'Bible of St. Paul's') is accompanied by the words CAPVT OLOFERNI.

[2] For examples, see Garrucci, iii. T. 150; Schultz and Barnsley, Pl. 54; etc.

The choir-screen is fairly preserved just at the angle where it touches the pier and returns to form the cross-wall in front of the entrance. The continuous seat on the inner side, which is also returned, is made of slabs of white marble covered with stucco painted to represent coloured marbles. On the wall which formed the back of the seat was a series of scenes resembling in style those on the Sanctuary screens (pp. 63, 86) and therefore, probably, like them representing Old Testament types. The lower part of the two at the angle (62) is preserved. The one on the left shows a battle scene. In the lower right-hand corner (all that has survived) a horseman is riding towards the left over a dead body. Behind him are soldiers. The scene on the right, which apparently occupied the whole space between the pier and the gate into the Choir, shows the jewelled footstool of a throne. Towards the person seated on it a richly dressed figure is advancing from the left, where some guards are standing. Behind them appears a background of mountains.[1]

The outer face of the screen has been twice painted with imitation drapery, the last time in a very coarse style.

The pavement which is preserved within the angle of the screen, and is apparently contemporary with it, is a patchwork of large fragments of white marble and grey granite. Underneath appears the original brick floor of *opus spicatum*.

The pier to the left of the entrance had entirely disappeared and has been rebuilt. A good deal of the structure of the choir-screen on this side of the church remains, but nothing of the painting on its inner face. At the back are fragments of coarsely painted drapery, which is also found on the screens (63) which connect the northern piers with the entrance wall.

The four granite columns of the peristyle were coated with plaster, and painted. Only the one nearest to the Sanctuary on the left (64) retains any distinguishable traces of the subjects. It shows on the face looking towards the Choir a pair of full-length Saints enclosed in a rectangular frame which occupies about two thirds of the circumference. The one to the left is a beardless person in a long brown habit (no cowl), with bare feet.[2] To the right is a soldier (only the lower half). He wears a slate-coloured cloak, short red tunic, yellow hose, and boots.

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[1] It might be suggested that this represents the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon.

[2] The only youthful and beardless ascetic described in the Byzantine Manual is St. John Calybita (Didron, 335. Cf. Nilles, *Kal.*, 70).

The central space enclosed by the choir-screens was originally paved with brick *opus spicatum*, and later with a patchwork of slabs of white marble and grey granite, a portion of which, as we have stated (p. 88), may be seen in the angle formed by the screens on the right. Resting upon the former is an oblong octagonal base of rough brickwork (65). It occupies only the approximate centre of the Choir, as it is set rather to the left of the axis of the building, and the short ends only correspond roughly with the inner lines of the bases of the peristyle columns. It can hardly, therefore, have belonged to the building in its original condition, but must have been erected as part of the arrangements of the church. The channel for a drain or waterpipe which passes under it longitudinally to either end of the Choir suggests the *cantharus* or fountain which was a regular feature in the atrium of churches of this period. In that case we should have to assume that originally the open peristyle court formed the atrium, and that the church was in those days restricted to the present Sanctuary. But it is improbable that this was ever the case. On the other hand the channel may be older than the platform, and connected with the ancient *impluvium* now buried beneath it, which would naturally occupy the centre of the open space. If we were free to think this, the analogy of S. Sophia at Constantinople might suggest that this was the base of the *ambo*. In S. Sophia, as we learn from the description of Paul the Silentiary, the ambo stood in the centre of the church, but rather towards the East, with flights of steps leading up into it from either direction (*i.e.*, from East and West).[1] Whether it stood in the middle of the choir, or, as at S. Clemente, in the line of one of the choir-screens, the ambo is one of the few features in S. Maria Antiqua about which our scanty documentary evidence gives any information. We have seen before (p. 65) that John VII. decorated the church with paintings, and the passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* continues, *illicque ambonem noviter fecit.*[2] Part of this ambo has actually been found in the Choir, discarded, and laid down in the floor immediately in front of the step leading up into the Sanctuary. It is an oblong octagonal slab of white marble (now split) measuring 1.3 m. by 73 cm. On the thickness (which recedes slightly inwards) of the three sides at either end is inscribed the name of the donor in Greek and Latin.

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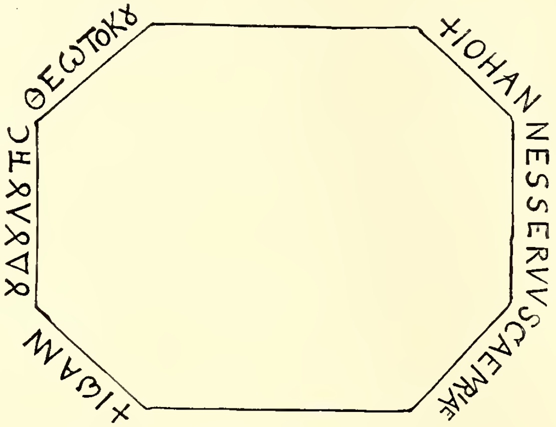
[1] Salzenberg, *Alt-chr. Baud.* Anhang, p. ii. Lethaby and Swainson, *Sancta Sophia*, 54, and cf. Fig. 5. In the poem of Paul the Silentiary the passage occurs in the section entitled ἔκφρασις τοῦ ἄμβωνος l. 21 *sqq.*

[2] *Lib. Pont.* i. 385.



Iohannes servu(s) s(an)c(t)ae M(a)riae.
Ἰωάννου δούλου τῆς Θεωτόκου.

The letters are raised in sunk panels. To the inscription itself we will return in a moment, but first we observe that the slab must be the floor of an ambo similar to the one which may be seen on the left hand of the choir at S. Clemente, and in other churches. The long sides of the slab have no inscriptions, because they were covered by the stairs which led up into the ambo from either direction; while the two ends projected, so that the words on them could be read, below the marble parapet which formed the front of the pulpit in which the reader stood. Traces of the lead which was run into the clamps which fastened the latter can still be seen in the upper face of the floor-slab. The place where this or, perhaps, some later ambo stood is still marked in the choir-screen on the left, opposite to the column of the peristyle nearest to the Sanctuary (66). These traces consist of the bases of three of the marble posts at the bottom of the two flights of steps, grooved so as to receive the ends of the slabs which formed the balustrade on either side of the ascent. The arrangement, as we have said before, was exactly similar to that of the existing ambo in S. Clemente. If the bases are in their original positions, as they appear to be, the stairway must have been extremely narrow; but the whole structure was quite small, as might be expected in a church of this size. On its removal (when and why, there is nothing to tell us), the space which it had occupied was filled up, so that the choir-screen on this side became continuous. It appears, therefore, to be probable that the discarded ambo of John VII. occupied, originally, the space indicated in the left-hand screen of the choir. It was a new one, as the *Liber Pontificalis* tells us, and that which it replaced may have occupied the octagonal base in the centre.

The inscription of John VII. exactly resembles, both in its lettering and expression, the marble fragment in the Crypt of St. Peter's, which came from his famous chapel of the Virgin in the old basilica. It reads, +IOHANNIS S*e*RVI SCAE MARIÆ.[1] At the time of the destruction of the chapel it contained another fragment with the words THC ΘЄΟΤΟΚΟΥ, so that, as in S. Maria Antiqua, the name of the donor appeared in Greek as well as in Latin.[2] Moreover, beside the central figure of the mosaic (the Virgin, now in S. Marco at Florence) were the words, *Iohannes indignus episcopus fecit beatae Dei genitricis servus.*[3] John therefore regularly described himself as 'the servant of Mary,' an expression of devotion to the Virgin which is found in the Greek world about this time or even earlier.[4]

Before we leave the church we must notice the burials which took place in it. These were not numerous, for during the period of its existence the older practice (itself an innovation on the customs of the classical period) of burying in the atrium or precincts of a church still had the upper hand. There was one grave in the chapel of SS. Quiricus and Julitta, of a form which will be described later (p. 105). In the right-hand main wall of the body of the church a few *loculi* have been excavated, perhaps at a very late period, and after the abandonment of the building as a place of worship. More important are the ancient sarcophagi which have been brought in Byzantine times from outside the City to be used as coffins. There are four. One is fixed against the wall immediately to the right of the side-door on the right, leading from the vestibule or outer church (67). It was above ground, and its ornamental face is turned outwards. This has the ordinary undulated fluting, broken in the middle by a 'tabula ansata' bearing the inscription which follows:

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[1] Facsimile in Grisar's *Analecta Romana*, i. T. ii. 7, and p. 167. Cf. *Civiltà Cattolica*, March 16th, 1901, p. 728.

[2] On John's Greek origin see p. 7.

[3] Garrucci, iv. T. 279.

[4] The seventh-century MS. of the Acts in the Bodleian, known as the Codex Laudianus, has at the end an entry of ownership in the form, Θεωτώκε βοήθη τοῦ δούλου σου Γρηγωρίου διακόνου, &c. P. Batiffol in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1888, p. 307.

D M S
CLODIAE·SE
CVNDAE CONIV
GI DVLCISSIMAE ET BENE
MERENTI QVAE VIXIT·AN·
XXV·MEN·X·DIEB·XIIII·IN
CONIVGIO MECVM FVIT SI
NE QVERELLA·AN·VII·M·IIII·
DIEB·XVIII·L·CAELIVS·FLO
RENTINVS·7·COH·X·
VRB·POSVIT
NAT·MAMERTINO·ET
RVFO·COS·PRI·NON·
AVG·DEF·XV·KAL·IVL·APRO·ET MAXIMO CoS

The dates of birth and death are August 4th A.D. 182, and June 17th A.D. 207, and a mistake of a year has been made in the age. Nothing has been added to indicate the name of the later occupant of the coffin.

On the same side of the church (now placed on the screen-wall between the right pier and the first column of the peristyle) a child's sarcophagus of white marble was found buried. It is an ordinary work of the third century, and shows on its front the common design of two winged figures supporting a wreath in the middle, with a weeping Cupid at either end.

On the opposite side of the church two large marble sarcophagi had been buried in graves under the floor. Neither has inscriptions. The one, probably of the third century, is rectangular, and its face is sculptured with two pairs of tragic masks flanked by festoons of fruit supported by three boys. The other, which was found in the space between the left-hand pier nearest the entrance and the adjoining column, has rounded ends which, together with the front, are covered with Christian subjects in relief, in the style of the fourth century. The scenes, all of which can be illustrated from other works of this kind, are as follows (from left to right).[1]

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[1] They have been fully dealt with by Prof. Marucchi in the *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* vii. (1901), 205 *sqq.*

(i) On the rounded end of the sarcophagus, a ship with two sailors. To the left a sea deity seated, holding a trident.

(ii) A nude figure (Jonah) lying under a tree. At his feet is a sea monster. Above the tree are two sheep and a goat.

(iii) A female figure with raised hands (an 'orante') standing between two trees.

(iv) A male figure clothed in the pallium, seated reading in a roll which he holds with both hands. Perhaps intended to represent the original occupant of the sarcophagus, studying the Divine Law. The faces of this and of the preceding figure have (as is often the case) been left unfinished in order that they might be converted into portraits.

(v) A shepherd (beardless) holding a lamb over his shoulders. Two sheep at his feet.

(vi) The Baptism of Christ. A figure, wearing only the pallium baptises a small, nude, beardless figure standing in water. A dove flies down towards him from a tree on the left.

(vii) Two fishermen (nude) with a net. On the rounded end of the sarcophagus.

It is worth while to notice how the burial under ground of these ornamental sarcophagi, even when representing Christian subjects,[1] reflects the artistic conditions of the time and place. Monumental tombs were indeed not unknown in Byzantine churches, but the general contrast is between the Eastern or Greek ideal of decorating a church with a complete and consistent series of pictures and decorations which cannot be broken into by extraneous pieces of ornament, and the Western mediaeval practice, picturesque but irregular, of filling a church with chapels and pictures and monuments, none of which belong to a uniform scheme. It is not till a later age in Rome, when the Greek world had vanished and a new art was springing up, that we find an ancient sarcophagus introduced into a church to serve as a tomb, but with its sculptured front now utilised as part of the decoration of an elaborate sepulchral monument.[2]

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[1] It was not that the subjects were misunderstood, for the story of Jonah was well known to Byzantine art, and its treatment was derived from the same type as the representations on the sarcophagi. *E.g.* in the Menologium of Basil II. (ed. Albani. *Urbino*, 1727) i. 61 (Sept. 22nd). Cf. Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 286.

[2] The two earliest cases are the Fieschi monument (1256) in S. Lorenzo Fuori, and the Savelli monument (1266) in the Araceli.

III.—THE OUTER CHURCH OR VESTIBULE.

The walls of the great hall (B) through which the church proper was approached, were also covered with paintings, extending over the large semi-circular and rectangular niches which break the faces of the side-walls. The painted surface is in a much worse condition than in the inner church, and consists either of detached fragments or of very faint traces. We begin at the main entrance, and pass round the walls from left to right returning to the same point.

To right and left of the great door by which we enter from the direction of the Forum, two small niches have been excavated in the wall, similar to those which we have seen in the church. Three small full-length figures of saints are painted on the back of each of them, males on the right, females on the left. The figures in the niche to the right (68) are very faint, and their names have quite disappeared, but it is clear that they were three martyrs, in Byzantine official costume, holding crosses and crowns. If, as was apparently the case, they formed a pendant to the group in the niche on the left, we should expect them to be martyrs connected with Roman churches. Such names as George, Sebastian, Theodore, suggest themselves.[1]

The niche on the left (69), of which the right-hand portion is destroyed, shows two female saints in jewelled Byzantine dresses and tiaras. Over the head of the one to the left is inscribed Η ΑΓΙΑ (the letters combined in a monogram, as in No. 61, p. 87) ΑΓΝΗ, and over the one in the middle ΚΗΚΗΛΗΑ, also preceded by the monogram. They stand under a sort of canopy formed by an architrave (on which the names are painted) supported by a column at either end. The background is blue. If we try to conjecture the name of the vanished third saint who accompanied Agnes and Caecilia, it might be suggested that Agatha is, perhaps, the next best known of the virgin martyrs, and there were dedications to her in Rome. But considering the position and associations of this church, we may say that no name is more likely than the one which follows theirs in the Canon of the Mass, viz. Anastasia.[2] As patroness of the mother church of the district between the Forum and the Aventine, to which S. Maria Antiqua belonged, and still more as patroness of the Court Church of the Imperial Government in Rome, a connexion which, as is well known, obtained for her under the Byzantine dominion an exceptional liturgical position,[1] this somewhat mythical personage may well have been associated here, as in the Canon, with the two great Roman virgin martyrs.

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[1] On the plaster some bilingual monk (perhaps) has scratched his name
PETR*us*
ΠΕΤΡΟs

[2] It occurs in the list in the *Nobis quoque*.

Standing opposite to the centre of the left wall we see that, at one time or another (though of course after the building had been converted into a church), passages were opened under the three rectangular niches so as to provide communication with the corridor outside, which forms a continuation of the incline up to the Palatine. The two nearest the entrance have now been filled up for constructional reasons, but the central one was closed while the building was still in use by a kind of shallow apse (70), marking, perhaps, the site of an altar. The scanty traces of painting at its two ends, which are all that is left of it, show small figures of saints. To the left, and on the same level, one of the niches with which we are familiar has been excavated in the wall, but the painting within it has vanished. To the left of this again is a fragment of drapery belonging to some saint in classical costume. Above the apse the opening still remained (now closed, as in the other cases), and its inner sides have been painted, perhaps at a very late date, after the floor had been filled up to this height. A dado of drapery with birds may be seen, and above this were scenes apparently from the life of St. Antony (71). One represents his burial, with the inscriptions S · ANTON*ius* and DEMONES.[2]

The painting in the great semi-circular niche to the left (72) is very fragmentary, and it is difficult to speak with anything like certainty about the subject. The existing traces would be consistent with the colossal figure of some sacred personage, occupying the whole height of the niche. Low down on the left there seem to be the remains of a square-nimbed kneeling figure, holding two votive candles (cp. p. 52). As may be seen by some fragments to the right, the niche, or the wall-space next to it, was bordered by the design of intersecting circles which we have noticed in the inner church (pp. 63, 87). Just below this, and forming part of the same scheme of decoration, is the bust of (presumably) a Pope in a circle enclosed in a square frame (73). There are no traces of the name, but the face was beardless, and the pallium round his neck has Maltese crosses. Immediately to the right of the frame is a fragment of inscription painted on the plaster :

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[1] Especially the fact that the Station for the second Mass on Christmas Day is at her church. For the history see the study of Mgr. Duchesne in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1887, 387 *sqq.*; supplemented by Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 595 *sqq.*

[2] I take this from Marucchi's account in the *N. Bull. di Arch. Crist.* vi. 292. Nothing can be made out now.

LEO
SAC
NA

It is clear that these are the first words of the lines, and as faint traces of letters may be detected in the corresponding space on the opposite side of the niche, we may suppose that the recess formed by it was at that time built up flush with the main wall, so that, possibly, the inscription was painted right across the surface. This is confirmed not only by the existence of the above-mentioned small apse (70) below, no doubt intended for an altar, but also by the arrangement of the frame formed by the pattern of intersecting circles, which, while it borders, as we have noticed, the great semi-circular niche to the left, and returns above the medallion of the Pope, does not reappear till we come to the edge of the corresponding semi-circular niche on the right (75). The central rectangular niche was therefore, perhaps, originally covered by a large framed picture which filled up the space between the two semi-circular niches, and the inscription below it, and above the small apse, perhaps had reference to it. It was probably after the floor of the vestibule had become filled up to the level, perhaps, of the base of the niches, that the painting and the back-wall of the niche behind it was broken through to form a passage, the walls of which were decorated with the story of St. Antony, as described above (p. 95).

There are traces of a corresponding medallion of a Pope in the space to the right of the central niche, and immediately below is the portion of an inscription (74). Its size, and therefore the number of missing letters, may be ascertained with some accuracy, as the space is defined by the fragments of the red frame which enclosed it. We can see that part of the first line is preserved, that five or six letters are missing on the left of the first two lines,[1] and three or four at the beginning of the last two lines.

TVONOMINEXPI
˪ISTORIA · GAVDENT
ꝛ · PINGEREFECIT · EGOLEO
RAS$\overline{\text{XPI}}$ · SACER · ET · MON$\overline{\ \ \text{C}}$

To show how the lines may have run, though not as a certain restoration, the following might be suggested :

[D(i)c(at)a s(an)c(t)o] tuo nomine Christe [fide]l(es)
istoria gaudent. [Noscas] q(ui) pingere fecit.
Ego Leo [dedi pictu]ras Christi sacer(dos) et monac(hus).

The *istoria* would be the pictures on the wall. With the last line may be compared an eleventh-century inscription from S. Sebastiano on the Palatine :

Ego Benedictus p(res)b(yte)r et monachus pingere feci.[2]

It is clear that the fragment mentioned above (p. 96) refers to the same person. Leo must have been a common name at Rome in the early Middle Ages ; otherwise we might be struck by the coincidence that the picture of the Ascension in the lower church of S. Clemente was 'composed' by a presbyter, Leo, in the time of Leo IV. (847–857).[3]

In the lower part of the great semi-circular niche, which comes next (75), are the remains of three male saints. The two best preserved are bishops vested in dalmatic and chasuble with the pallium. To the right of the nimbus of the middle figure is inscribed (perpendicularly) ЄPAC///, so that this must be St. Erasmus whom we have already found in the inner church (p. 33). The letters to the right of the second figure are less certain : AN is all that can be made out. Probably there was a row of three more figures above them.

In the space between the opening into the corridor and the angle of the vestibule, low down, a semi-circular, round-headed niche (76) has been excavated in the wall. It is painted, much in the same style as the saints on the left wall of the church (p. 34), with a colossal half-length figure of St. Abbacyrus (cf. p. 79). Behind his head is a large yellow nimbus, and he holds in his right hand an instrument like a *stilus*, only that it has a small, sharply-pointed head which touches an object to his left, which apparently represents a box with two handles. These no doubt represent, though it is not clear that the artist understood what he was copying, the emblems of the medical art; the *spatha* or *spatula*, and the case of drugs.[1] On either side of the figure is inscribed perpendicularly Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ ΑΒΒΑΚΥΡΟϚ. The sill of the niche has an oblong cavity, perhaps to hold a light (cf. p. 87).

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[1] As the letters vary a good deal in size and spacing, there may have been more.

[2] Armellini, *Chiese*, 525.

[3] Mullooly, *St. Clement* (2nd ed.), 285. The inscription runs,

Quod haec prae cunctis splendet pictura decore,
Componere hanc studuit praesbyter ecce Leo.

Cf. Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. T. vi.

Immediately above this niche, but considerably higher up on the wall, is a painting of Christ between SS. Abbacyrus and John (77). The figures are full-lengths with yellow nimbi, and stand facing the spectator. That on the left (Abbacyrus) is represented with white hair and a long beard, and the hands are raised and open in the ritual attitude of prayer. He wears a long, sleeved garment of a dark colour over a short red tunic. The figure on the right (John) is beardless. He holds a small cross in front of him with both hands, and is enveloped in a long and richly patterned cloak, open in front, just as in the picture of the south-west chapel (p. 78). The Christ holds a book, and blesses with the right hand. Below, to the right, are the last words of the two lines of inscription, in rather small and poor white letters on the red ground.

. . . . *Abbac*VRVS ET IŌHS
. . . . . . *ping* ERE ROG*a*VIT∸

The beginning of the second line must have contained the name of the donor.[2]

The style of this painting, which is fairly preserved, is different from anything of the sort previously described. It is coarser, stiffer, more elementary, and undoubtedly belongs to a later age, when the traditions of Byzantine art were no longer a living influence in Rome. It may even be as late as the eleventh century. And this helps to explain its position. We have already noticed some indications of a raising of the floor of the vestibule in the last period in which it was used as a church (p. 95). Here too, when the niche, and probably altar, of St. Abbacyrus became buried, a new shrine was erected to him and his fellow-saint, John, at the level of the new floor and just above the old one.

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[1] I have not come across any other example of Abbacyrus holding these objects, but they may be seen, *e.g.* in two Byzantine representations of another medical saint, Pantaleemon. Gori, *Thesaurus Vet. Dipt.*, iii. 354, T. IV.; iv. 7, T.I.

[2] For the formula one may compare an ivory in the British Museum (described as German, 11th or 12th cent.) with *ob amor(em) cs Radegid(is) fieri rogavit.* See Spitzer Coll. Catalogue, Pl. IV. 58, and p. 13. Also the inscription on a well formerly at the church of S. Marco in Rome: *de donis Dei et san(c)ti Marci Johannes presbyter fieri rogabit.* Armellini, *Chiese*, 462.

In crossing to the opposite side of the building, there may be noticed, just to the right of the central doorway, the following letters rudely scratched on the painted surface of a fragment of plaster (78):

ЄΤЄΛΗѠΘΗЄΝΚѠϹΞΙ

It is difficult not to think that this *graffito* was intended to indicate the date of the completion of the painted decoration of the vestibule. I give the following interpretation for what it is worth:

ἐτελεώθη ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ ἔ(τει) ͵ϛτ′ (6300).

As the era of Constantinople is probably the basis of calculation, this would give A.D. 792, or rather some years later, for probably there were some letters (perhaps stating also the month) after the last given above. In any case the style of the paintings in this part of the church (excepting the later additions) would suit very well the time of Hadrian I. (772–795).[1]

In the passage leading from the vestibule to the right aisle of the church, a small *loculus*, only large enough for a child, has been excavated in the wall on the right (79). Part of the painted inscription on its front still remains, and may be conjecturally restored as follows:[2]

*Hic dep(ositus) in quie*ΓE·
.... *puer nomine Theod*)RVS
..... *filius* .... *qui vixit ann*OS·V
m(enses) ... *d(ies)* ... *Dep(ositus) sub* DIE ⁝·
·ĪC

---

[1] A Greek translation of the Dialogues of St. Gregory in the Vatican Library is dated thus: ἐτελειώθη δὲ ἡ βίβλος αὕτη μηνὶ ἀπριλίῳ εἰκάδι πρώτῃ ἔτους, ͵ϛτη′ (6308 = 800). *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1888, 302. A *graffito* would naturally be in a less elaborate form, but cf. the inscription recording a restoration of the church at Forza d'Agrò near Messina, which ends: μνησθείη αὐτ(οῦ) ὁ:Κ(ύριο)ς· ἔτ(ει) ͵ϛχπ′ (6680 = 1171 A.D.). *Not. Scav.*, 1885, 87. The era of Constantinople was probably used at Rome; *e.g.* in the dedication by Theodotus at S. Angelo in Pescheria (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. 514. Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. 175). The interpretation suggested receives some support from the identification of the Pope in the picture described below (p. 103) with Hadrian.

[2] The fragmentary letters on the last line can hardly belong to a consular date, for the epitaph must be later than the end of the sixth century. Moreover the mark of contraction only belongs to the first of them.

On the right wall of the vestibule the following remains of painting can be made out. Beginning from the left, next to the angle of the wall, was a picture (80), apparently a full-length of some sacred personage, but only traces of the drapery remain. On the red frame, to the left, is part of the inscription (written perpendicularly) indicating a dedication by a lady. It may be completed thus:

ὑπὲρ ΑΦЄCεωC ΑΜΑΡΤΗωΝ ΤΗC Δούλης CΗC[1]

The first two of the great constructional niches above seem to have been decorated with full-length figures of saints, in two tiers. One may be seen on the right side of the rectangular (*i.e.* the first) niche, and others in the semi-circular one which follows. A passage has been cut through the wall below these, and under the next (or rectangular) niche is another, of narrower dimensions (81), the sides and roof of which have been painted with figures of saints which appear to be of the same date and style (if anything, rather worse) as the picture of Abbacyrus and John on the opposite side of the building (p. 98). On each of the side-walls were five full-length saints. There is hardly anything remaining of those on the left. Those on the right apparently all represented bishops, wearing the pallium decorated with Maltese crosses, and holding books. Over the head of the first from the left can be read /////ASIVS, and over the second SCS BA///// The remains of figures on the roof, which were painted so as to face one on leaving the church, show, to the left, a saint (half-length) in white drapery of the classical type, while the centre was occupied by a medallion, no doubt enclosing a head of Christ or the Virgin. These figures of saints are continued in the interior of the Temple of Augustus, but nothing of importance remains. The passage was cleared out as far back as 1885, when the figures were described by De Rossi.[2] His account may be given as supplementing and explaining the existing remains. On one side (the right) were the figures, with the names of

SCS · BLASIVS
SCS · BASILIVS
.... *l*AVRE*ntius*
.... CRISTOFARVS

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[1] Analogous expressions are common in Greek dedications. E.g. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xi. (1890) 236. Schultz and Barnsley, *Monastery of St. Luke*, 28 (= Diehl, 10).

[2] *Bull. Arch. Crist.* (S. iv.), 1885, 142.

On the opposite side (the left) only one could be made out

SCS · BENEDICTVS

He attributed the paintings to the eleventh century.

High up on the wall above this passage, in the space to the left of the central (rectangular) niche, can be read SC/ CRESCENT≀, with illegible traces of a second name, in poor letters like those under SS. Abbacyrus and John (p. 98). The picture, which has disappeared, belonged no doubt to the same date. Perhaps it represented the group of SS. Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia (June 15th), who were connected with an old church in Rome which was restored by Stephen III. in the eighth century.

There are considerable remains of painting, though much damaged, on the next section of the wall. Originally it was treated, below the level of the niches, with large pictures and a dado of drapery beneath. When the practice of burying in *loculi*, excavated in the wall, was introduced, part of the design was sacrificed. Thus, immediately to the right of the last-mentioned passage, two *loculi* were cut in the wall, destroying the existing painting, so that a new arrangement had to take place. The face of the lower *loculus* has disappeared. It cut through the original dado, and a new one was, no doubt, painted below it. Part of the front of the upper *loculus* remains, with an inscription (probably metrical) of six or seven lines painted on it, but only a few isolated letters can be made out. As it must have destroyed the original painting, the remaining space was filled up by two new and smaller pictures. That to the left (82) shows two saints (half-lengths) enclosed in a frame of conventional foliage (red) of the character of the acanthus. The figure to the left is a bearded monk in a dark blue cowl. His right hand is raised in front of him holding a small cross, the traces of which have disappeared. The figure on the right is a female with long hair, and undraped. The saints are, no doubt, the two ascetics, Antony and Mary of Egypt. The painting is coarse and elementary in style, and just like that of the saints in the passage (p. 101). The picture to the right of this (83), and immediately above the *loculus*, is much fainter, but shows a Christ enthroned, draped in red, and holding a book in his left hand, between two angels each with a staff in his left hand, and the right raised and open. At his feet, to the left, there seems to be the prostrate figure of a donor; the face looking out of the picture.

We next come to a picture which does not appear to be original, as the drapery dado below it, though of the same character, does not exactly correspond in level with the remains still further to the right which probably represent the earliest arrangement. The frame contained two full-length saints, but all that can be made out is that the one to the left represents a bishop (probably a Pope) with the pallium.

Next to this is a much larger and better preserved panel (84), which, as we have suggested, probably belongs to the original (perhaps eighth-century) decoration of the wall. Below it is a dado of hangings of the same design as that which we have frequently noticed in the inner church (p. 36). Of the picture itself enough is left to show the broad features of the design. The Virgin and Child are enthroned in the centre, with three saintly personages on either hand, the one to the extreme left being a contemporary Pope, and therefore the donor. The figures stand facing the spectator, in front of a red wall, finished at the top with a band of yellow, above which the background is blue (now black). Of the Madonna little is left, but she was attired in the manner of an Empress. Both she and the Child extend their right hands towards the group on the left, as if accepting the presentation of the donor. To the right of the Virgin's head is inscribed in two perpendicular lines

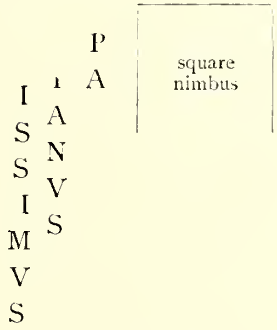
*m*ARIA REGIN*a*

The next figure to the right is a Pope (short white beard), in a yellow chasuble and pallium with elongated Maltese crosses, holding a jewelled book in both hands. On either side of him is his name, which may be restored

SCS *si*LBESTRVS

Only the last few letters now remain. Beyond him, on the right, are a pair of beardless saints in Byzantine official costume (white tunics, and red and blue tablia on the chlamys), holding small crosses in their right hands and crowns in the left. Their names must have been inscribed in the space to the right, where the plaster has now disappeared. Those of Sergius and Bacchus at once occur as a probable suggestion, and this conjecture is converted into practical certainty when we observe that round the neck of the figure to the left, who would be Sergius, the ring which, as we noticed on the previous occurrence of this pair of saints (p. 30), is their distinctive mark, is clearly visible. In the case of the second figure (presumably Bacchus) the traces are much fainter.

The saint nearest to the Virgin on the left is a Pope. He holds a book with both hands, and the crosses on his pallium are of the second form given on p. 35. He is represented with a short beard. His name was inscribed in the regular form (cf. p. 62), *Scs . . . . PP Romanus;* but only the end of the last word has survived (to the right). Next to him, on the left, a saint is introducing the donor to the Virgin. The saint is a youthful personage with a short beard, in Byzantine official costume (white tunic and yellow chlamys with red tablion), and his left hand is extended with the gesture of introduction. The donor, whose features have vanished (he may have been beardless), holds by its back in a slanting position a jewelled and clasped book. His name was inscribed to the left of the square nimbus behind his head, in the same form as that of Paul I. in the apse (p. 73). The letters which remain are arranged as follows:—



From the style of painting we may feel fairly certain that the picture is not later than the eighth century. The only Popes of that age whose names end in *anus* are the two Stephens (the predecessor and successor of Paul I.) and Hadrian (772–795). The letter which precedes the A appears to have been an I, and this is decisive for Hadrian. The whole will then read

[*Sanct*]*issimus* [*Hadr*]*ianus* [*Pa*]*pa* [*Romanus*]

The last word was perhaps inscribed, as in the case of Paul I., horizontally above the nimbus.

If Hadrian be the person intended, we may conjecture that the saint who introduces him is his name-saint, an officer martyred at Nicomedia under Maximian, and the patron of the church which, since the seventh century, occupied the old Curia in the Forum. That Hadrian did attach some importance to the connexion may be seen from the fact that he raised the church to the rank of a *diaconia*, and was a liberal benefactor to it.[1] St. Hadrian would properly be represented in the manner which appears in this painting.[2] Further, if the Pope be Hadrian, there was a peculiar appropriateness in introducing the figures of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, for when the 'Book of the Popes' describes Hadrian's rebuilding of their church in the Forum, it states that he had a special devotion to these martyrs.[3] Finally we may notice that it is in an inscription almost certainly of the time of Hadrian, that we find again in Rome the title of *Regina* applied to the Virgin.[4]

The intention of the picture has still to be explained. It will be noticed that Pope Hadrian does not hold the book upright in front of him, as in the conventional representation of bishops, and as the two canonized Popes do in this picture. He is putting it forward; and therefore it is clear that he is presenting the volume to the church, in the person of its patroness, for use in its services, and the picture is a commemoration of the fact. The 'Book of the Popes,' in its long list of more costly presents made by Hadrian to the Roman churches, has not thought it worth while to record any gifts of books; but several such are mentioned in this period, and the volume shown in the picture may well have been a copy of the Gospels *cum tabulis argenteis*, like that given by Leo IV. to the church of the saint of his name.[5]

When the floor of the vestibule was uncovered in the summer of 1901 it was found that almost the whole area was occupied by graves constructed on a regular plan, in rows, so as to utilise the whole of the available space. The part nearest the entrance, however, had not been completely taken up at the time when the building was abandoned. Though no objects of importance were found with the skeletons which the graves contained,[1] we may assume that they belonged to the same period as the main decorations of the building, *i.e.* the eighth and possibly the succeeding century. Most of the graves, each of which held several bodies, were constructed of ancient materials and on the following plan (Fig. 7). The walls, which were of course common to two parallel graves, were built of brick and fragments of stone and marble. The floor, in the best preserved cases, was formed by a single slab, regularly pierced with holes for drainage. In other cases the floor was paved with large square tiles. Each grave, lying, as it did in most cases, parallel to the axis of the building, opened at the end nearest to the entrance (*i.e.* the N.E.) into a square chamber which we may suppose was covered by a movable slab in the floor of the church, so that bodies could be introduced through it without removing the pavement above the grave itself.[2] In one case at least this chamber was approached by two or three steps down from the level of the floor above, and in

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[1] *Lib. Pont.* i. 509.

[2] The Byzantine Guide in Didron's version gives the description, 'jeune, barbe arrondie' (p. 392). According to the 'Acts' he was one τῶν ἡγουμένων τῆς τάξεως (*Acta SS.* Sept. vol. iii. 220). I am inclined to think that, like Sergius, he had a ring round his neck; so that it may have been intended to represent him as being a member of the Imperial Guard. But the disappearance of the paint has left very uncertain traces.

[3] *Lib. Pont.* i. 512: *misericordia motus, ob eorum martyrum amorem.*

[4] The deed of gift by the *dispensator* Eustathius at S. Maria in Cosmedin already referred to (p. 44, n. 2). It begins thus: *Haec tibi praeclara virgo caelestis regina.*

[5] *Lib. Pont.*, ii. 132. Cf. 128, and i. 432. The best known instance is the inscription in S. Clemente recording the gift to the church of a Bible by the presbyter Gregorius in the time of Zacharias. Grisar, *Anal. Rom.* i. 123, 172, T. iv. 2.

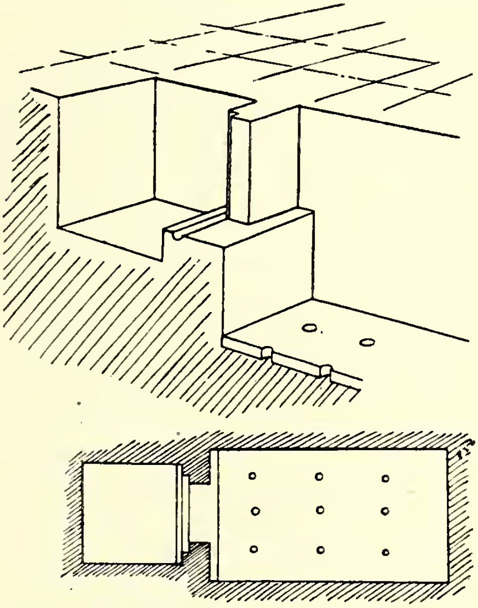

FIG. 7.—SECTION AND PLAN OF GRAVES IN S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

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[1] Generally speaking, all the graves in and about the church were found to have been rifled in later times.

[2] The same method was followed in Rome till recent times. The square slabs closing the opening are a familiar feature in the floors of Roman churches.

another it opened into a grave at either end; but the normal arrangement was for each grave to have its separate entrance. The latter opened into the grave by a door formed by a threshold or sill and jambs of marble or travertine, grooved so as to receive a slab which could move up or down as it was necessary to open or close the grave.[1] One other peculiarity was to be noticed in a few cases, viz. graves divided into two stories by a marble slab supported by projecting tiles built into the side-walls.

We have said that the graves lay, generally, parallel to the axis of the building, but their constructors were obliged to take account of the *piscina* (p. 23) which occupied so large a part of the area; and the graves within it, making use of the support of its walls where possible, followed its direction.[2] Those outside of it, on the other hand, were orientated according to the lines of the building. It may be added that one grave of this type was found in the inner church, in the chapel of S. Quiricus. The square opening into it was just in front of the side-door into the Sanctuary.

The graves which we have been describing were not the only ones to be seen. In one case an ancient marble sarcophagus (plain) had been used as a coffin, placed cross-wise with reference to the other graves, but filling up a convenient vacant space between the ends of two of them. In the part of the area to the left of the entrance another type of tomb was found, marking perhaps a later and more barbaric epoch. The sides, as before, were of rough brickwork, and they were paved with large square tiles. But they were covered by a gabled roof of ancient roofing tiles, the junctions at the apex and sides being protected by semi-circular coping tiles, after the manner familiar to Roman building. Tombs of this construction (known as 'a capanna') are common in the neighbourhood of Rome.

The Vestibule must have shared, though probably at a later date, the fate of the inner church, and been buried under the ruins which came down from the Palatine. A desperate attempt was made to keep the roof up by means of a very substantial pier of masonry (now removed) erected in the middle of the building (85), partly of blocks brought from the substructure of the Temple of Castor. Its foundation cut through the series of graves in that part of the floor.

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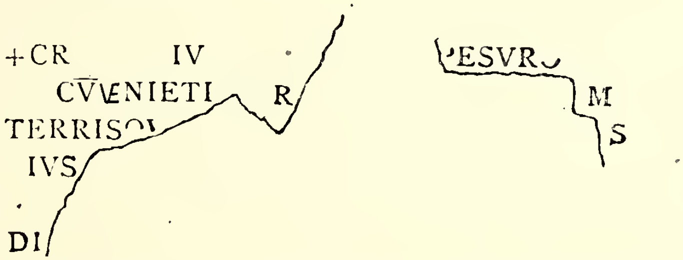
[1] There appear to be similar graves in the Basilica at Salona, which was destroyed in A.D. 639. Mr. T. G. Jackson (*Dalmatia*, ii. 90) describes 'a sepulchral vault with an entrance below the floor on the east side, accessible from a small square pit lined with stone. The actual entrance of the vault was closed by a stone sliding hatch running in grooves, which could be raised by an iron ring.' Outside the Basilica (p. 92) 'there are several sepulchral chambers like that described within the church, with a little shallow well or pit in front of the entrance, lined with slabs which are joined with lead dowels.' In at least one case the sliding hatch is perfect with the iron ring for raising it.

[2] The area of the *piscina* has now been completely cleared.

[3] Cf. *e.g. Notizie d. Scavi*, 1886, 454; *Bull. Comm.* 1887, 50.

As we leave the vestibule by the main entrance it can be seen that the porticus to the left was, like all the precincts of the church, much used for burials. The piers nearest to the entrance have been built up so as to form a chapel-like compartment, on the walls of which are traces of decorative painting. In the angle, two terra-cotta sarcophagi were found buried, and in the main wall a *loculus* (86) has been excavated, the front of which has preserved more of its painted inscription than the similar burial places within the church. The letters are of a good type, black on a white ground; and the inscription was enclosed in a frame of boldly drawn acanthus foliage, exactly like that round the picture of SS. Antony and Mary of Egypt described above (p. 101), and is therefore probably contemporary with it. We saw that that picture did not belong to the original or eighth-century decoration of the building, and is to be classed with work which may be as late as the tenth or eleventh century. The remains of the inscription are as follows:—


+CR IV
CVENIETI R
TERRISO
IVS
DI
ESVR
M
S

This was, apparently, an epitaph of four lines in elegiacs ending with the formula *dep(ositus)* or *decessit* followed by the date. I have not been able to identify these lines with any known Christian epitaph, but it is clear that the idea expressed was that of the resurrection of the deceased at the Last Day. A Spanish inscription of the seventh or eighth century may be quoted in illustration:

ut cum flamma vorax veniet comburere terras
cetibus sanctorum merito sociatus resurgam.[1]

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[1] Huebner, *Inscr. Hisp. Chr.* 158 = Buecheler, *Carmina Epigraphica*, i. 724. For similar expressions (not very common in early Christian epitaphs) cf. also in Buecheler nos. 715, 756, 1435.

Above this was another *loculus* with a similar inscription, but only the lower edge of some of the letters of the last line (giving, no doubt, the date) remains.

The side-wall to the left was painted with panels representing coloured marbles, flanking a cruciform compartment containing a design of arabesque foliage with grapes and fruit, executed in a sketchy style, in natural colours on a white ground.

The space enclosed between the front of the main building, the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, and the Lacus Iuturnae, formed part of the precincts of the Church, and is occupied by a building of late construction (L). It may have been a subordinate church, like the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, but the architectural remains are too scanty for any inferences to be drawn from them here. The only objects of interest found here were a third-century sarcophagus in the part nearest to the Shrine of Juturna (apparently in a passage-way), and, immediately in front of the entrance to the Forty Martyrs, an isolated grave with its floor formed by a pierced marble slab like those described in the vestibule (87). Its covering was an inscribed and dated marble slab which had been taken from some older grave. It was broken in two either before it was so used, or possibly by some later marauders, and half of it was reversed. The inscription occupies the upper part of the slab which is furnished all round with a well-designed moulding.

+HIC REQVISCITINPACEAMANTIV*s aur*IFEXQVIVIXIT♡
PLVSMINANN♡L♡DEPOSITVSSVBĐXIK*al m*ARTIASQVINQVIES
PC DN*i*VSTINI PP AVG IND QVARTA

Hic requi(e)scit in pace Amantiu[s aur]ifex qui vixit plus min(us) ann(is) L, depositus sub d(ie) XI Kal(endas) Martias, quinquies p(ost) c(onsulatum) d(omini) n(ostri) [I]ustini p(er)p(etui) Aug(usti), ind(ictione) quarta.

The fifth year after the consulship of Justin II. (for Justin I. was not recognised in Italy) is A.D. 572.[1] Considering the social position of a person who would have a carefully engraved tombstone of this character, *aurifex* is the only possible restoration of the description of Amantius. Remembering the existence of a number of ancient epitaphs of persons connected with the goldsmiths' and jewellery business, and described as

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[1] De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr.* i. pp. 609, 613.

de Sacra Via,[1] one may be permitted to fancy that the trade may still have continued in the same district in the sixth century, and that Amantius was buried in the precincts of the church hard by. Though the grave in which it was found may be later, it seems not improbable that a slab of this character and date may have been taken from a sepulchre in the ground in front of the church. The practice of interment within the city had begun at least half a century before the death of Amantius.[2] If we can believe that the tombstone originally belonged to the church, it is the earliest dated monument that we possess connected with it.

IV.—THE CHAPEL OF THE FORTY MARTYRS.

The space between the ancient building converted into the church of S. Maria Antiqua and the shrine of Juturna is occupied by a small structure of Hadrianic brickwork which may originally have been a temple (M).[3] It is placed at right angles to the church, and its breadth is greater than its length. In the back wall is an apse. It was converted into a church in the Byzantine age, and decorated with wall-paintings which, so far as the much damaged remains allow one to judge, do not differ substantially in style from those in S. Maria, and may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the eighth century. From the most prominent subject among these paintings we have given it the name of the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, but there does not appear to be any documentary trace of an independent church with that dedication in this part of Rome. We must assume, therefore, that it was regarded as forming an integral part of S. Maria Antiqua.

Standing opposite to the entrance, one can see that the façade (which it must be remembered was inside the building described above, p. 108) was painted. The only remains are on the right. On the face of the pier or buttress, immediately to the right of the entrance, are traces of the full-length figure of a bishop (88), vested in a yellow chasuble with the pallium over a dalmatic, and holding in front of him an opened scroll on which we recognise the same quotation from the "Tome" of St. Leo which we found in the hands of the first figure to the left of the apse in the church (p. 69). The bishop before us then was St. Leo, and he was no doubt balanced by another Father on the corresponding buttress to the left. The fragments of the quotation which have survived here are as follows:

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[1] *C.I.L.* vi. 9207, *aurifex de Sacra Via*; 9212, *de Sacra Via auri acceptor*; 9214, *de Sacra Via auri vestrix*.

[2] See *e.g.* Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 325.

[3] The question may be asked whether this is not the temple of Minerva mentioned in the grants of citizenship to soldiers (*diplomata militaria*) between A.D. 93 and the time of Diocletian. The originals are said to be fixed *in muro post templum divi Aug. ad Minervam*. *C.I.L.* iii. pt. 2, p. 859 *sqq*.

κοιν-
υΙ ίας ὅπερ εἴ-
δΗου ἔσχη-
ΚΕΝ τοῦ μὲν
ΛΟΓΟVΚΑΤΕΡ
γαΖΟΜΕΝΟV
ὅπʽ ΡΕϹΤΗΝΤοῦ
λόγου ΤΟVΔΕϹΟ
ΜΑτΟϹΕΚΤελ-
ΟVΝτος

On each of the sides of the recess to the right of this were the busts of four saints in medallions. Only the lowest on the right is at all recognisable, and the name has in part remained, + Ο Αγιος ΕVΘVΜιος. He is represented with a long beard, as in the church (p. 31), and the painting is in exactly the same style. Nothing is left on the back wall of the recess. On the face of the pier (89) to the right of the recess are faint traces of, apparently, a replica of the 'Descent into Hell' in the side-door (J) of the inner church (p. 37). The outlines of the figure of Christ are quite clear.

Ascending the two marble steps at the threshold we enter the chapel and pass round it from left to right. On the space immediately to the left of the door are faint traces of a large picture with life-sized figures which possibly represented a Virgin and Child with a saint introducing a donor (90). On the extreme left is a bishop (no doubt a Pope) with the pallium, holding a book. To the left of his head are traces of what may have been a square nimbus, but doubtful. Next comes a figure draped in white with bare feet, *i.e.* a saint of the early Christian age. Only the lower corner of the right of the picture remains. It seems to represent the footstool of a throne. Below is a dado of drapery of the same character as that in the church.[1]

The left side-wall of the chapel is covered above the drapery dado with a single subject which extends as far as a niche at the upper end. It is a long row of nimbed saints, standing facing the spectator, with the heads of a second row appearing behind them (91). Both from their number (there were originally twenty-six in the front row, and fourteen at the back), and from the painting in the apse to be described presently, it is clear that they are the Forty Martyrs. In the centre of the upper row is a bust of Christ in a medallion. The martyrs are all represented in Byzantine official costume, and hold a small cross in front of them with the right hand. They are of different ages, some beardless, others with black or white beards.[2] Above are traces of the frames of six oblong scenes, which may have told the story. The niche already mentioned contained, apparently, full-length figures of saints. A small *loculus* has been cut in the wall below it.

Of the end-wall of the chapel, the space to the left of the apse only retains the painting of its lower part, *i.e.* the dado, but this is fairly perfect (92). It shows, on a white ground, two (originally there must have been three) large Latin crosses of gold studded with jewels, enclosed in wreaths or crowns. Ornaments are suspended from the arms and from chains which unite the ends of the cross, and the centre is formed by a medallion containing, in the cross to the left, a head of Christ. In the other case the centre is damaged, but the indications point to a head of the Virgin. On either side of the base of the cross is a palm branch. The whole arrangement no doubt represents the hanging crowns and crosses (generally containing lights) which were a regular ornament of churches of the period. Above the wreaths and between them is represented a small jewelled crown (like the Iron Crown of Monza) suspended by three chains. In the corresponding space below, two lambs stand facing one another, while the angle on the right is filled up by a peacock.

We next come to the apse which is occupied by a representation of the Forty Martyrs undergoing their martyrdom of exposure in a lake near Sebaste in Armenia (93). The right-hand portion is the best preserved. The figures, like a crowd facing the spectator, stand, not on the ice, as in some forms of the legend,[1] but immersed up to the knees in the water of the lake. They are nude, save for loin-cloths, and their hands are raised in front of the breast with the palms outwards in the attitude of prayer. The heads which remain are all beardless. In the right-hand corner of the picture is represented the incident of the member of the band whose courage failed him, and who is stepping out of the water into the tent (the legend says it was a warm bath) prepared on the shore of the lake. Beside it are traces of two guards. The legend gives names to all the forty,[2] and these names were originally inscribed here above the figures to which they belonged. The first to the right is complete, ΚΥΡΙωΝ, the Kyrion or Quirion of the lists. Above it is /ΚΔΙΚΟϹ, *i.e.* Ecdicius. Next to these, to the left, are the fragments,

---

[1] Federici (*l.c.* p. 46) gives some *graffiti* here, but I confess that I can make nothing out of the traces on the wall.

[2] This agrees with the Byzantine Manual. Didron, 326 *sq.*

ϹЄΥ////
ΦΙΛ////
///ΓЄΟϹ

which appear to correspond to the names Severianus, Theophilus (probably in the form Philotheos), and Angias,[3] given in the 'Acta.'

The dado of the apse is painted with a rude imitation of marble incrustation in five panels, alternately pink and yellow. The vault is treated with a decorative design of rosettes in large circles, the intermediate spaces being filled up by arabesques. The effect is that of ornament of the classical period. Where the red background behind the Martyrs has broken away there are traces of an earlier stratum of painting, but nothing definite can be made out as to its character.

To the right of the apse a platform, some four feet high and two feet broad, extends as far as the angle of the chapel. There are no apparent means of access to it. The wall behind it was painted from the level of its floor upwards (94). First comes a very high dado of painted drapery. It is represented as finished off at its extremity on the left by a panel or border with small figures of two saints. The lower of these shows a lay personage in a tunic and long cloak open in front. The figure is broken away above the middle. Of the upper figure only the right side of the nimbus is left with traces of the name, unfortunately too fragmentary to give any result. The only recognisable letters are an A followed by a T. Above the dado was a row of full-length saints, possibly attending on a central seated Madonna. All that can be made out from the very faint traces is, on the extreme left a figure in white drapery, and next to it, turning towards the centre, and perhaps offering something with covered hands, the lower portion of a figure in classical costume with sandaled feet. On the extreme right is an ecclesiastic in a chestnut-coloured chasuble, facing the spectator, and next to him is a fragment of a white-robed figure with bare feet.

---

[1] *E.g.* in the Roman Breviary, March 10th.

[2] *Acta SS.* March, vol. ii. 12. Didron, *Manuel*, 326.

[3] Apparently the 'Aggée' who appears in Didron's version of the Byzantine Guide (p. 327).

The wall of the chapel on the right was painted, above the usual drapery dado, with a history in oblong framed scenes. There were at least two tiers of these, but of the upper one only indications of the frames remain. The lower tier is preserved to some extent, but the traces are very faint, and as everything in the nature of inscriptions has disappeared, an attempt to identify the subject becomes difficult in the absence of any obvious indications in the representation. The first scene preserved, viz. that on the extreme left (95), must belong to the middle of the story. Two male figures are moving towards the right. The first has his right hand raised, as if in surprise, and his companion, who apparently holds a staff in his right hand, points to something with his left. From the opposite direction two animals, perhaps lions, are coming towards them down the slope of a mountain. This scene partly extends into the niche in the wall, and the next occupies the remainder of it (96). Here we see an angel moving quickly towards the right accompanied by another personage. There is a background of mountains. The next scene (97) has a house in the left corner, in front of which three persons are standing behind a table. The one in the middle extends his right hand. From the right a figure is bringing some object to them, perhaps a wine-skin or bottle. In the succeeding panel (98) two mules or horses, each laden with two large bottles, are moving from the left. In the centre are the remains of a draped figure. Beyond this point nothing recognisable remains, but the scenes were continued along the wall, perhaps as far as the entrance.[1]

Close under the wall to the right of the entrance was buried below the pavement a marble sarcophagus containing several bodies (99). It was originally made (probably in the second century A.D.) for a Jewish official and his family, and has no doubt been brought here from some Jewish cemetery outside the walls. On a panel in the centre of the front is inscribed

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[1] In their uncertain condition it is hardly worth while to attempt to identify the scenes: otherwise it might have been suggested that two of them might be incidents in the life of St. Antony, viz., the destruction of his crops by wild animals, and the journey which he made to visit his Monasteries.

ЄΝΘΑΔЄ ΚΙ
ΤΑΙϹЄΙΛΙΚΙϹ
ΓЄΡΟϒϹΙΑΡΧΗϹ
ΚЄϹωΦΡΟΝΙΑϹΥΝ
ΒΙΟϹΑΥΤΟΥΚЄΜΑ
ΡΙΑΚЄΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟϹΥΙΟΙ
ΑΥΤωΝ

'Ενθάδε κ(ε)ῖται Σείλικις γερουσιάρχης κ(αὶ) Σωφρόνια σύνβιος αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) Μαρία κ(αὶ) Νίκανδρος υἱοὶ αὐτῶν.

A good deal of the pavement of the chapel is preserved. It is very barbarous, made up of irregular fragments of marble, porphyry, and serpentine, with rude attempts to arrange them in panels bordered by strips of white marble.

APPENDIX.

THE 'DESCENT INTO HELL' IN BYZANTINE ART.

THE presentation of the subject known as the 'Descent into Hell' in Byzantine art is based on the account in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, the earliest literary form of the legend developed from the suggestion of 1 Peter, iii. 19. There Christ is described as trampling upon Satan, and taking Adam by the hand.[1] The regular Byzantine name for the scene is ἡ ἀνάστασις, 'the resurrection,' probably an allusion to Matthew xxvii. 52.[2] By the time when the Byzantine Manual of Painting (p. 12) was composed, the treatment had become very elaborate, and the old name had been given up.[1] But till the eleventh or twelfth century the regular design shows a symmetrical composition (specially adapted for a lunette) in which Christ stands in the centre, facing the spectator, between two groups. In one hand he holds a cross, while with the other he raises Adam from the tomb. Behind Adam appears Eve. This group is balanced by two or more figures (generally David and Solomon) rising from a tomb on the other side of the Saviour, under whose feet the broken fragments of the sepulchres, or, more rarely, the prostrate figure of Satan, are represented. This type, of which the examples are numerous,[2] is represented in Fig. 8, taken from a twelfth-century Greek MS. of the Gospels in the British Museum.[3] The figure behind the kings is St. John the Baptist.

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[1] Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 370.

[2] Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley (*Monastery of St. Luke*, 48) are under a misapprehension in thinking that the name is a mistake as applied to the scene in the eleventh-century mosaic in the church of St. Luke of Stiris. They have misunderstood Diehl, to whom they refer for confirmation (*Couvent de St. Luc*, 42.)

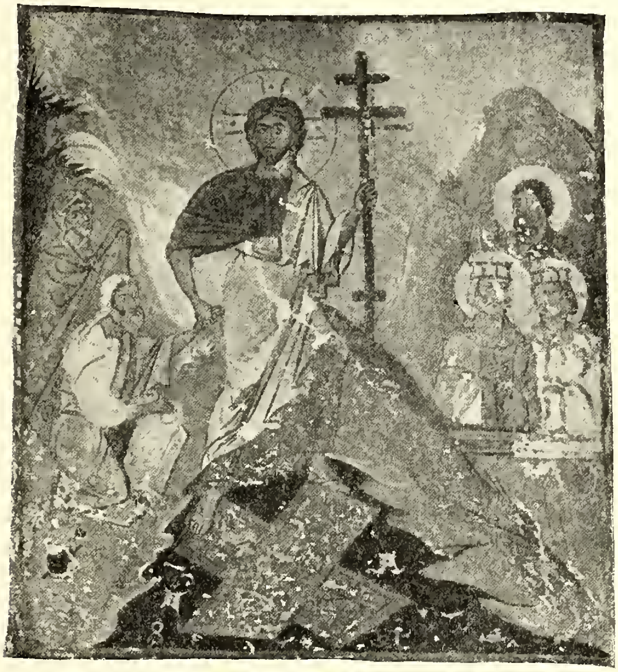

FIG. 8.—THE DESCENT INTO HELL. (Harl. MS. 1810.)

This treatment seems to be a development, for reasons of symmetry, from a simpler and earlier form in which only Christ and Adam and Eve appear. In representations of this type the Saviour stands sideways as he approaches and takes Adam by the hand.

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[1] Didron, ed. Stokes, ii. 319.

[2] *E.g.* Schultz and Barnsley, *l.c.* Fig. 39; d'Agincourt, T. xiii. 21 (doors of S. Paolo fuori, Rome), lvii. 6, lix. 6 (MSS. in Vatican); Gori, *Thes. Vet. Dipt.* iii. T. xxxii.; *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1888, 316 (eleventh-century MS. at Messina). Cf. Diehl, *Couvent de St. Luc*, 42, for other instances.

[3] Harl. 1810, f. 206 b.

Though he sometimes appears with the Cross, it is clear that the roll which other examples show in his hand is the older motive. The prostrate figure of Hades under his feet seems to be a regular adjunct of the design.

It is this simpler and earlier type which appears in the picture of S. Maria Antiqua described above (p 37). Fig. 9 gives an idea of its outlines. If our dates with regard to the church are correct it cannot be later than the ninth century, but there is no reason to separate it from the other paintings of the eighth century in that part of the building. Indeed, so far as its ruined state allows of any definite opinion, its style would suggest that it belongs rather to the earlier than to the later series of decorations. Probably then it is one of the earliest versions of the subject which we possess. For analogies with its special characteristics we may compare the following examples. (1) Now that Prof. Venturi has restored the sculptured columns of the ciborium in St. Mark's at Venice to their proper place as works of early Christian art, not later than the sixth century, we find on one of them the oldest version of the scene which has come down to us.[1] The elements are even simpler, for the only figures are those of Christ and Adam, whom he takes by the hand. Under the feet of Christ appear two heads, perhaps the Satan and Hades of the Gospel of Nicodemus. The left hand of Christ appears to be unoccupied ; perhaps it originally held a roll. The (later) inscription describes the scene as *expoliatio i(n)feri.* In the next scene the bodily resurrection of the saints appears with the in-

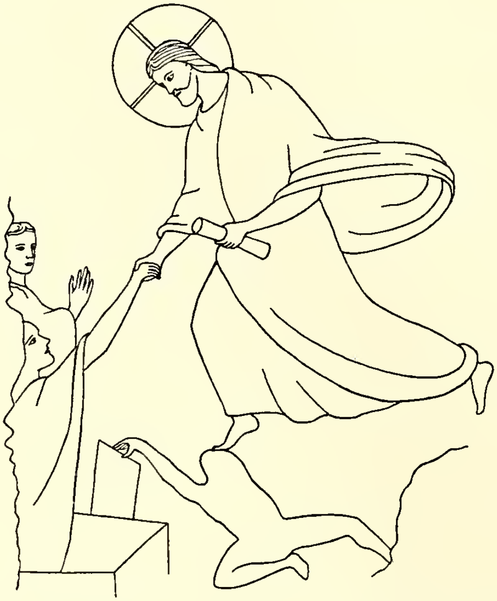

FIG. 9.—'THE DESCENT INTO HELL.' S. MARIA ANTIQUA.

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[1] Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, i. 444 *sqq.* Fig. 266 (p. 279). Cf. Lowrie, *Christian Art*, &c., 269 note. The sculptures are also reproduced in Garrucci, vi. T. 498.

scription *surgu(n)t corp(or)a s(an)c(t)or(um)*, explaining, as noticed above (p. 114) the Greek name of the *Anastasis*.

(2) Owing to the connexion of time and place, it is peculiarly interesting to observe how the scene was represented in the mosaics of John VII.'s famous chapel of the Virgin in St. Peter's. We have to rely for our knowledge of them on the drawings made before the destruction of the chapel in the seventeenth century. In spite of their deficiencies it is clear (*e.g.* from the one preserved in the Archives of the Vatican Chapter[1]) that the representation followed the simple and early type. Christ, without the cross (here again the hand may well have held a roll), and with the prostrate figure of the devil under his feet, apparently removes a chain from Adam's hand. But this may be a misunderstanding on the part of the draughtsman.

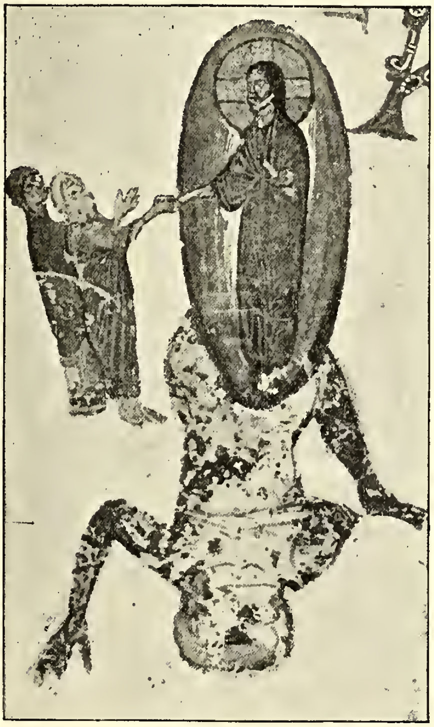

FIG. 10.—THE DESCENT INTO HELL. (Add. MS. 19352.)

(3) That mine of Byzantine iconography, the eleventh-century Psalter in the British Museum,[2] to which we have often had occasion to refer, contains three representations of

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[1] Garrucci, iv. T. 280, 8.

[2] Add. 19352. The MS. is described in Dr. Kenyon's *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, No. vii. Cf. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, iv. 7 *sqq.*

the subject. One (f. 146 *b*) is of a more elaborate and independent character. But in the other two cases (f. 82 *b*, 83 *a*. Ps. lxvii. = lxviii. in the English version) we find just the elements of the scene which appear in the painting of S. Maria Antiqua. The first of these is produced in Fig. 10. Christ, holding a roll, takes Adam by the hand. Eve stands behind him, and below is the gigantic prostrate figure of Hades. In one case Christ stands on the latter, and in the other Adam and Eve. The chief difference is that Christ is surrounded by the vesica, and is represented as stationary, and not moving forwards as in the Roman picture. The figure of Hades (no name is given to it) is also very much larger, and its position is not the same. On the other hand the crouching figure under the foot of Christ in S. Maria Antiqua curiously resembles in attitude (half-seated, half-reclining, with one leg bent under) the Hades from which the soul of Lazarus is ascending, in another miniature of the same MS. (Fig. 11 [1]). There too the name is given, ὁ ἅδης. He appears to be holding other souls in his arms, whereas in the picture of S. Maria he is lifting the grave-stone; but it seems that both figures must have come from a common type.

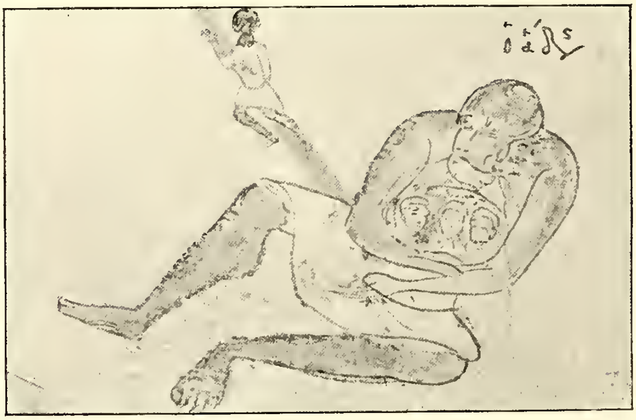

FIG. 11.—HADES. (Add. MS. 19352.)

(4) We have already had occasion to notice the importation of Byzantine subjects into England through Rome (p. 17), and it is interesting to find that this early type of the 'Descent into Hell' also reached our country. It is seen on a sculptured slab, discovered many years ago in the Chapter House of Bristol Cathedral, forming the cover of a mediaeval coffin. Probably it had, originally, no connexion with the church. Indeed it must be older than the foundation of the monastery (1142), for its style recalls that of Anglo-Saxon sculptures of the eleventh century.[2] The scene appears to be complete; and it clearly belongs to the earlier type described above, and in its general features is closely allied to the picture in S. Maria Antiqua. It is reproduced in Fig. 12. Christ,

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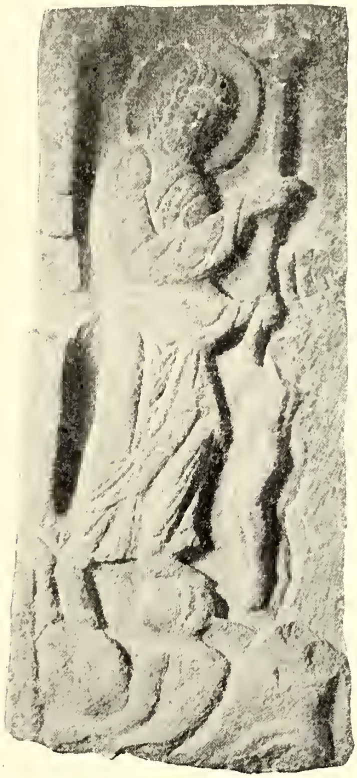
[1] F. 31 b. The same scene appears in the Barberini Psalter (f. 44). Cf. *Mélanges*, De Rossi, 278.

[2] *E.g.* the well-known reliefs from Selsey in Chichester Cathedral, of which there are casts at S. Kensington.

advancing from the left with one foot on the head of the recumbent Hades, raises by the hand the nude figure of Adam. Only one later feature is introduced, the Cross instead of the roll in the hand of Christ. Details of this sort may easily be interchanged, and in the same way in a fragment of a representation of the scene among the mosaics of the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede, though the general type is the later symmetrical one, Christ holds the roll and not the Cross.[1]



S. B. Bolas and Co., Photo.]

FIG. 12.—THE DESCENT INTO HELL.
(Sculpture in Bristol Cathedral.)

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[1] Garrucci, iv. T. 289, 2. It is not certain that the fragment belongs to the time of Paschal I.

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PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. I. NO. 2.

THE CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY
OF THE
ROMAN CAMPAGNA

PART I

BY

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LONDON: 1902.

INTRODUCTION.

It is a tendency of all great cities to possess two distinct and often independent sets of communications, the one for local, the other for long-distance traffic; and, unless a city has suddenly sprung into being, it will be found that, in order of development, the former precedes and is the germ of the latter. In the case of Rome, we are able to trace with remarkable clearness the successive stages of the development of the road system. The roads which, when this system had attained its perfection, we find radiating in all directions from the city, may be divided into two groups. The first of these, the local roads, take their name from the cities to which they lead; the second, the long-distance roads, from those who were chiefly responsible for their construction. All, however, must have originated as short-distance roads, leading to some town or other, and if we possessed sufficient information as to the spread of the Roman supremacy in Italy, we should be able to trace step by step the development of the long-distance roads from the local ones in every case. For the growth of the road system is intimately connected with the growth of the power of Rome. As soon as we are able to fix approximately the earliest bounds of her territory, we find her enclosed within very narrow limits. Except along the banks of the Tiber, her dominion extended hardly five miles from the city gates.

The earliest extensions of the Roman territory must have coincided with the first beginnings of the Roman road system. The two roads along the Tiber, the Via Ostiensis and the Via Campana, had existed from the first; but after the Latin communities on the lower Anio had fallen under the dominion of Rome we may well suppose that there were added the first section of the Via Salaria, which led to Antemnae and Fidenae, the

Via Ficulensis (afterwards the Via Nomentana) which led to Ficulea,[1] and the Via Collatina, which led to Collatia.

Gabii, too, which held the plain between the Anio and the Alban hills, became Roman in fairly early times, though the period cannot be closely fixed, and after its subjugation the Via Gabina (afterwards the Via Praenestina) must have come into existence.[2]

The origin of the rest of the roads on the east of the Tiber is probably to be connected with the gradual establishment of the Latin League in the form in which it appears as completed in about 370 B.C. (Mommsen, I. 448 n.). Taking first those which bear the name of a town, we find that all these towns, Nomentum, Tibur, Praeneste, Labici, Ardea, Laurentum, are found in the list of members of the league given by Dionysius (V. 61), and had therefore already fallen under the supremacy of Rome. It is worthy of note that Ficulea and Collatia do not appear among the thirty federal cities. Their importance in relation to Rome had evidently decreased in the interval, and though the memory of them was not absolutely lost even in Imperial times,[3] they were places of so little account that topographers have found great difficulty in determining their sites.

Of the roads which do not bear the name of a town, the Via Salaria (Livy, vii. 9. 6; Pliny, *H.N.* xxxi. 89) was said to have been the route by which the Sabines came to fetch salt from the marshes of Ostia and the saltworks of the Veientines near Fregenae (Maccarese). A road must have run, following no doubt the line of the later Via Appia, to Bovillae, Aricia,[4] Lanuvium, and Velitrae, and thence on to Cora, Norba, and Setia. It would follow, at any rate from Cora onwards, the already existing Volscian roads which can still be traced along the hills. Another ancient road, which may date from this period, is that which runs through Castel di Leva straight to Satricum (Conca), while the Via Latina, which perhaps derives its name from this period, must have run as far as Tusculum and the pass of Algidus, and possibly onwards in the direction of Signia.

Of the roads on the right bank, the first sections of those which later became the Via Flaminia and the Via Clodia were probably brought into use after the fall of Veii in 396 B.C. to secure the conquered territory, while the road by which the Vestals fled to Caere in389 B.C. (Livy, v. 40), took a line followed in later times by either the Via Cornelia or the Via Aurelia, probably the former, as the latter seems originally to have led to Fregenae (Maccarese).

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[1] Livy, iii. 52. 3; *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 447.

[2] Livy, ii. 11. 7, iii. 6. 7, v. 49. 6.

[3] *C.I.L.* xiv. pp. 435, 447, and No. 4003.

[4] As far as Bovillae the road must have already existed: for it seems clear that this town was in some respects the successor of Alba Longa. After the destruction of the latter, the *sacra gentilicia* of the Iulii were celebrated at Bovillae; and the inhabitants called themselves Albani Longani Bovillenses (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 231).

As the supremacy of Rome extended itself over Italy, the Roman road system grew step by step, each fresh conquest being marked by the pushing forward of roads through the heart of the newly won territory, and the establishment of fortresses in connexion with them. It was in Italy that the military value of a network of roads was first appreciated by the Romans, and the lesson stood them in good stead in the provinces. And it was for military reasons that from mere cart tracks they were developed into permanent highways. The first road which underwent this transformation was the Via Appia, *munita* (the word indicates the solidity with which this great work of engineering was carried out) from Rome to Capua by Appius Claudius, censor in 312 B.C., and pushed forward after each fresh acquisition of territory. But the history of the Roman road system as a whole, and of its gradual extension over Italy, lies outside the limits of our present subject.

A few exceptions to the twofold division which was made at the outset —local roads, taking their name from the places which they serve, and long-distance roads, taking their name from those who constructed them— may be noticed here. The Via Salaria and the Via Latina always retained their ancient appellations unchanged ; while the importance of Tibur was probably the reason why the first part of the Via Valeria as far as that city always retained the name Tiburtina. Other exceptions are the Via Cornelia, which led to Caere (Cervetri), and the Via Vitellia, both of which, though they are roads of little importance, bear the names of men, probably their constructors. The Triumphalis is a short road which leaves Rome independently of the Clodia, but soon falls into it without leading to any town. The antiquity of the road now known as Via Tuscolana is by no means certain, and in any case the name is not ancient. The Via Portuensis dates from the construction of the Portus Ostiensis by Claudius in the first century A.D.

The roads which never acquired more than a purely local importance, as distinct from those which were developed into lines of communication of the first rank, were also *munitae* in course of time ; and, traversing as they did a fertile and well-cultivated district, carried no doubt, during the period before the Punic wars, a considerable amount of traffic. Gradually, however, the population decreased; the small farmers died out, and were replaced by a few large owners whose estates were cultivated by gangs of slaves. These formed a continual menace to the public safety, and once (in 198 B.C.) even threatened to surprise Setia and Praeneste. Under the government of the later Republic the state of things grew worse. Some of the small country towns, Labici, Gabii, and Bovillae, for example, were so decayed that they could hardly send representatives to the Latin festival (Cic. *Pro Plancio*, 9, 23); and as the population decreased, the malaria became more formidable. Ardea was even in ancient times considered an unhealthy place,[1] and many of the towns which had been members of the Latin League disappeared altogether.

In certain districts of the Campagna, the decay of the farmer population was, in a way, compensated for by the growth of the *villeggiatura* system. It became increasingly the fashion to seek refuge in the country from the turmoil of the capital, especially during the heat and unhealthiness of summer; and, in the Alban hills and at Tibur especially, the *villa urbana* began to supersede the *villa rustica* or homestead (Mommsen, v. 377). But the possession of such country residences was the privilege of the rich; and that the system did little to improve the general prosperity is shown by the insecurity of the Campagna at this period, and by the decay of a town like Bovillae on the Via Appia, in a district which was as fashionable a resort as any. Even at Tusculum the burgesses were few compared with those of Atina, and were, most of them, men of rank.[2]

Under the Empire the establishment of public security, the more equable distribution of wealth, and the general revival of prosperity, wrought a considerable change in the condition of the Campagna. Not only were villas constructed just outside the gates of Rome, or, as before, in the Sabine or Alban hills, but the plain which lies between was by degrees covered with the residences of wealthy Romans, the remains of which, with the fragments of the foreign marbles with which they were decorated, bear faint testimony to their former magnificence. In time almost every available site was occupied. The water supply was the object of the greatest care; complicated systems of drainage were constructed, and roads made in every direction, the solidity of the construction of the by-roads being equal to that of the great highways. The whole plain of the Campagna must have come to be one vast garden[1] (see Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, ch. x.; *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 7). The country towns, too, enter upon a new epoch of prosperity (cf. p. 189).

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[1] Strabo v. 3. 5, p. 231, *χωρία τὰ κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ὅσα ἑλώδη καὶ νοσερά, οἷα τὰ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ Ἀντίου καὶ Λανουίου μέχρι Πωμεντίνου κ.τ.λ.* Virg. Aen. vii. 412, et nunc magnum tenet Ardea nomen; sed fortuna fuit.

[2] Cic. *Pro Plancio*, 8. 21.

The establishment of the Empire, too, brought with it important changes in the administration of the road system of Italy. While under the Republic, the general control of the roads belonged to the Censors, who constructed some of the most important, we find that all the milestones of the Republican period (three, or perhaps four in number: see p. 199) which have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Rome, were erected by aediles, either curule or plebeian. All other milestones of this period known in Italy are those erected by the original builder of the road, a consul or praetor,[2] who had nothing to do with its subsequent administration. The repairs (by contract) of the Via Caecilia were, on the other hand, approved by a quaestor.[3] There seems, therefore, to have been a lack of systematic management. Under the Empire, each of the roads had a *curator*, appointed by the Emperor, and the *cura* of a great road was one of the most important official positions open to a senator. *Curatores* of equestrian rank are the exception, and only exist in the case of comparatively unimportant roads.[4]

The three roads which we have selected for examination provide us with specimens of each of the classes into which we have divided the roads which issue from the gates of Rome. The Via Collatina is a very early local road of small importance, which was in later times probably chiefly used in connexion with the Aqua Appia and the Aqua Virgo. The Via Praenestina (or Gabina, as it was at first called) was in origin a local road to Gabii, and like the Via Collatina must date back to a very remote antiquity. With the extension of the dominion of Rome it was pushed forward to Praeneste, though it never became a road of the first importance. The Via Labicana fared differently. Originally constructed, as I have conjectured (p. 241), as a route to Tusculum (whether the first road from Rome to Tusculum was the Via Latina or this road is uncertain), it was then prolonged to Labici, and thence again, later on, when Labici had almost ceased to exist, to join the Via Latina. Being more direct, it superseded in importance what was probably an older road as a through route to Casilinum, where it fell into the Via Appia (p. 216). Besides ranking among the main arteries of communication between the different parts of Italy, it also carried a considerable amount of local traffic. Running as it does some way below Tusculum, and traversing the lower slopes of the Alban hills, it passes through the heart of this residential district, and must have been, for this reason alone, a road of some considerable importance. This we should judge from the large number of tombs which have been discovered along the earlier part of its course. It must be allowed, however, that other roads which have been in continual use from ancient times up till now (while the Viae Labicana and Praenestina have been roads of little importance in mediaeval and modern times) have hardly had an opportunity of retaining many of their tombs uninjured. They were regarded in the Middle Ages as the fair prey of the road-mender, and it is curious to notice that every Papal Jubilee marks the destruction of a considerable number of tombs along the line of the principal high roads leading to Rome, which were repaired on these occasions for the benefit of the pilgrims who travelled by them. However, the repair of the roads was not taken systematically in hand. People preferred to make a new track by the side of the old road rather than put the old one in order; and hence it is that we find that the modern road in many cases does not exactly correspond with the ancient. Often too the abandonment of an ancient road has been due to the establishment in mediaeval times of fortresses commanding it. The best known case is the castle of the Caetani at the tomb of Caecilia Metella, which led to the disuse of the Via Appia. The Via Labicana, perhaps for the same reason, fell entirely into disuse in the course of the Middle Ages from Torre Nuova to the point where it crosses the Sacco, a distance of twenty-five miles. This fact has naturally contributed to its preservation, although in recent times those portions of it which traverse cultivated districts have been a good deal subject to destruction (see for example p. 249).

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[1] The hilly districts on the right bank of the Tiber were, to judge from the comparative scarcity of remains of buildings, in ancient times, as now, mainly forest lands.

[2] No praetorian milestones are as a fact known.

[3] Hülsen, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, 87 *sqq.*

[4] The inscriptions relating to these *curatores viarum* have been brought together by Cantarelli in *Bull. Comm. Arch.* 1891, 81 *sqq.*

The Via Praenestina, on the other hand, is one of the most important of the purely local roads which traversed the plain. It passed, as the remains show, through a thickly populated country, and Praeneste, to which it led, was one of the very few cities of the old confederacy which still survived and flourished under the later Republic. It continued, in fact, like Tibur, to be a federal city with the old Latin rights until the passing of the Julian Law in 90 B.C., when it received the full franchise. Its great strength made it a refuge of the younger Marius in 82 B.C., when it stood a severe siege from Sulla, and only surrendered when the battle at the Porta Collina was lost. The city was destroyed, its territory confiscated and divided among the soldiers of Sulla,[1] and the new colony occupied the lower ground at the foot of the hillside on which the ancient city had stood. The site of the latter (to which, as in so many cases, the mediaeval town returned) was covered by the enormous terraces of the Temple of Fortune, rising steeply one above the other, the architecture of large parts of which is characteristic of this period. The temple, thus restored with greatly increased magnificence, must, notwithstanding the devastation of the city, have continued to attract worshippers. And the fertility and beauty of the district soon brought it into favour as a summer residence. Horace read Homer here (*Carm.* III. 4. 21 ; *Epist.* I. 2. 2). Here Augustus had a villa (Suet. *Aug.* 72), and Tiberius was cured of an illness (Aul. Gell. xvi. 13. 5). The younger Pliny had a country house at Praeneste (*Epist.* v. 6. 45) ; and to the south of the town there still exist the remains of a large villa, which belongs to the time of Hadrian, and is generally attributed to him. The Braschi Antinous was found in it.

Praeneste, however, never became so fashionable a residence as Tibur or Tusculum, both of which were somewhat nearer Rome, and the remains of villas are neither so plentiful nor so magnificent. It is probable that many of them belonged to rich townspeople or local proprietors. Further towards Rome, too, between Ponte di Nona and Cavamonte, the number of *villae rusticae* is considerable, while the tombs which line the road have a character of their own. They are mostly small chambers about three mètres square, constructed of *opus quadratum* of peperino or tufa. Their height and internal arrangements cannot be determined, as there are no specimens preserved to any height above the ground. These are probably the tombs, not of wealthy Romans, but of local proprietors. They are generally arranged in groups each of which possessed its own *ustrinum* (p. 174).

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[1] The arrangement did not, it is true, remain long in force : for in 63 B.C. the ager Praenestinus was once more in the hands of large proprietors. Cic. *De Leg. Agr.* ii. 28, 78 : *Nam si dicent per legem id non licere, ne per Corneliam quidem licet : at videmus, ut longinqua mittamus, agrum Praenestinum a paucis possideri.* Perhaps this was partly owing to the extravagance of the new *coloni.* Cf. *In Catilin.*, ii. 9, 20.

The Via Praenestina had not, in fact, tombs of great magnificence, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. The most popular burying places were the great main roads, the Appia, Flaminia, Latina, and the Praenestina was never one of these. Only one of its curators is known, and he, though of senatorial rank, was not a man of great distinction.[1] It never had the opportunity of becoming a main artery of traffic. Its prolongation beyond Praeneste took it into the valley of the Trerus (Sacco), where it soon fell into the Via Labicana, which itself joined the Latina at Pictae.

Nor had the Via Praenestina a monopoly of the traffic to Praeneste itself. Following the Via Labicana as far as S. Cesareo and taking the *deverticulum* which leads thence to Praeneste, the journey is only a mile longer, and though the road attains a higher level, it is not so continually "up and down" as the Praenestina. This is in fact the modern road to Palestrina, the Via Praenestina being no longer in use between Gabii and Cavamonte, except as a track, while between Cavamonte and Palestrina it serves for local traffic only.

This abandonment of part of the ancient Via Praenestina, which has to a great extent destroyed its *raison d'être*, accounts for the preservation of so many remains of antiquity along its course. From Tor de' Schiavi to the Osteria dell' Osa it runs through an almost deserted country, in which cultivation has only recently begun to take the place of pasturage, and carries little or no traffic. Between the Osa and Cavamonte it is a mere mule path, seldom traversed by carts, with the result that the ancient pavement is in a wonderful state of preservation for almost the whole distance, and is quite the best example to be seen in the neighbourhood of Rome, though perhaps in Chaupy's time, some 130 years ago, the Via Labicana between Fontana Chiusa and S. Ilario offered an even finer specimen of a Roman highroad (p. 273). It is only at Cavamonte that it comes into use again, and acquires a certain importance; and even here, by a stroke of good fortune, the modern road avoids passing over the Ponte

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[1] *C.I.L.* xiv. 169: *P. Martio Quir* (*inia tribu*) *Philippo curatori viae Praenestinae, aedilicio curuli, v*(*iro*) *q*(*uaestorio*) *ab aerario, tribuno fabrum navalium Portens*(*ium*), *corpus fabrum navalium Ostiens*(*ium*) *quibus ex s.c. coire licet, patrono optimo, s*(*ua*) *p*(*ecunia*) *p*(*osuit*). The inscription is dated 11th April, 195 A.D.

Amato, which accordingly remains untouched by restoration, and is one of the most perfect specimens of a Roman road bridge which has come down to us (p. 209). Beyond this we pass into a district where vineyards line each side of the road, for the vine still flourishes here as it it did in Roman times,[1] and the remains of villas are, accordingly, insignificant (p. 211). For here the sites available were, for the most part, flat-topped ridges separated by deep ravines ; whereas at Tusculum and at Tibur—the latter especially, where villas of great size were far more frequent, and where the view of the Campagna lying below was the supreme attraction—the steep sides of hills were selected, and it became necessary, in order to acquire a level surface for the house and the extensive gardens attached to it, to construct enormous terraces supported by massive substruction walls. These in themselves offer an efficient resistance to the wear and tear of time, and are to some extent spared from destruction, since they are actually useful to the modern cultivator, at any rate to the olive grower. So that it is easy, in these districts of the Alban and Sabine hills, to form an idea of the number and magnificence of the villas from the remains which still exist, though the buildings which crowned these enormous terraces have often entirely disappeared. Where these platforms were less frequent, as in the country round Praeneste, and in the districts along each side of the Via Praenestina, the remains are less massive, and have, to a far greater extent, fallen a prey to the ravages of time and to the hand of man. Often a heap of bricks and marble is the only indication of the site of a villa : and a single fragment of pavement all that may appear for miles along the line of an ancient road (cf. p. 167). It is, in truth, wonderful that so much has disappeared, rather than that so much is left to us. What must have been the density of population in Roman times, and how much must have been done by means of drainage and cultivation, is indirectly shown by the unhealthiness of the now abandoned Campagna. In earlier times than those of which we are speaking, even the pestilential district west of the Volscian hills, at the edge of the Pontine marshes, was inhabited and cultivated by a large population, who were enabled to do so by means of an extensive system of land drainage.[2] And once more the same results are being achieved in the same way. An agricultural colony established at Ostia is now able to live there permanently, whereas a few years back existence was hardly possible. This is the direct result of the abandonment of the salt marshes, and of the drainage of the land. And, in time, the same may occur in the rest of the Campagna. The rapidity of the spread of cultivation is most remarkable, even within the few years of my own recollection. Already that radiating outwards from Rome has almost met that descending from the Alban hills at Ciampino, not far to the east of the Via Appia; and it is not impossible that a hundred years of prosperity may make the Campagna once again a huge garden, as it was in the days of the Empire.

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[1] Cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. 7, 28 : *tum Praenestinus . . . . durus vindemiator et invictus.*

[2] *See* De La Blanchère, *Un Chapitre de l'Histoire Pontine.*

If this hope is realized, Rome will once more be surrounded by a spider's web of roads, as in the days when the Campagna was thickly populated. At present the main lines still exist and are in use, but hardly any of the *deverticula* are available even for cart traffic, so that the high roads remain unconnected, and to reach one from another without returning to Rome is, except on foot or on horseback, well nigh impossible.

The object of the present papers is two-fold: to determine the course of each of the three main roads (with their branches) which traverse the district under consideration, and to describe the ancient remains which exist near each road, as evidence of the inhabited character, or the reverse, of the country through which it runs, and of its comparative importance or unimportance. The evidence by which the course of a road may be ascertained is of two kinds, the literary, and what we may call the material. The first is naturally of a more general character than the latter, consisting as it does of passages in classical writers, and of the ancient Itineraries, which merely give the towns and post-stations on the road and the distances between them. The material evidence, on the other hand, is that which exists upon the spot, consisting of, first, what is left of the road itself: the remains of its pavement, of its embankments and bridges, of the cuttings made through the hills to avoid steep ascents and descents. To these must be added the inscriptions belonging to it, on milestones, bridges, &c. Then come the ruins of buildings connected with it: tombs with their inscriptions, *ustrina*, where the bodies of the dead were burnt, villas and water reservoirs bordering on the road, and so forth. It may happen, as is the case with the Via Praenestina, that this evidence is so abundant that the course of the road may be traced without great difficulty: on the other hand, it is sometimes the case, especially where a modern road coincides with an ancient one, that the only argument in favour of its antiquity is the fact that we know (or suppose) that an ancient road ran between two given points, and can discover no traces of it elsewhere, so that we are driven to believe that the modern road has obliterated all traces of the ancient. Again, we often find fragments of pavement at considerable intervals, and are in this case obliged to reconstruct on paper what we believe to have been the course of the road in ancient times. It need hardly be said that, if excavations could be made at certain points, many problems which now present difficulties would probably be much simplified. Many relics of antiquity are, it is true, unearthed in the course of agricultural operations. The rapid spread of cultivation in the country round Rome leads to the continual discovery of roads, buildings, inscriptions, works of art, coins, &c.; but the object with which the work is done usually excludes any attempt at scientific exploration, and in many cases discovery and destruction are simultaneous. These papers may perhaps also claim consideration as an attempt to describe, so far as possible, all the ancient remains of any importance the existence of which could be ascertained by careful and repeated examination of the district under notice. By thus recording them one is able to estimate the relative density of population, to observe which parts of the Campagna were inhabited by the wealthy owners of large villas, and which by agriculturists; and the record is the more important inasmuch as the continual destruction just alluded to will, in all probability, soon preclude the possibility of compiling it.

The present work cannot, however, claim to be in any way complete. In the first place, I have adopted what I know to be a purely artificial distinction in limiting my consideration of the history and topography of the present section of the Campagna to the classical period. There is in reality no break of continuity between Roman times and the Middle Ages; but Professor Tomassetti, whose monographs upon the mediaeval topography of the Campagna are indispensable to students, has not yet dealt with the three roads which are described in the following pages, and I have neither the requisite knowledge nor the time at my disposal to attempt in any way to anticipate the results of his investigations. I have not even been able to peruse all the books which bear directly upon the subject, still less to examine thoroughly the large store of manuscript material from which so much of our information is derived. Further, until Professor Lanciani's *Storia degli Scavi di Roma* appears, and the sixth and fifteenth volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are completed, a large amount of indispensable material will remain inaccessible. Finally, the nature of the subject is such, that absolute completeness and finality are not to be hoped for, though one should devote a lifetime to the study of the Campagna. As I have said, new discoveries are continually taking place, so that a second visit to a site already explored may furnish considerable additions to one's knowledge. This has been especially the case in the neighbourhood of Torre Iacova (p. 249), where the spread of cultivation has been so great that I have had to make many alterations and additions to the text while these papers were actually in progress. Or a chance meeting with an intelligent inhabitant may lead to the investigation of important remains, the existence of which could not have been learnt from the maps or books available, and would never have been suspected by one's self.

I have purposely restricted myself to what some may consider the dry bones of the subject. I have not attempted to give any idea of the charm of the Campagna, of the beauty of the scenery, of the unfailing kindness of the inhabitants (due, it may be, to a superstitious belief that the "mad Englishman" is not to be harmed for good luck's sake), of the striking contrast between the abundant traces of the life that flourished there in the past, and the sometimes overwhelming solitude that reigns in the present. The Campagna has in truth a fascination of its own which defies analysis; and those who are not content with a passing glimpse at Tivoli or Frascati, but try to study it more deeply, will find that the task is a pleasant one indeed. It only remains to express my warmest thanks to those with whom my excursions have constantly been made, and to whom I am indebted for continual advice and assistance—Professor Lanciani and my father. Space forbids me to mention many others who have helped me, to whom, however, my gratitude is none the less on that account.

VIA COLLATINA.

The Via Collatina diverged to the right from the Via Tiburtina of imperial times just outside the Porta Tiburtina of the walls of Aurelian.[1]

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[1] I shall not enter here into the somewhat difficult question of the topographical history of the Viae Tiburtina and Collatina within the walls of Aurelian. It is probable that both originally started from the Porta Viminalis, the distances being therefore reckoned from that gate, and not

It was a short and unimportant country road, and the only allusions to it in any classical writer are made by Frontinus (*De Aquis*, i. 5, 10), who states (i.) that the springs of the Aqua Virgo (which is still in use and known by the same name) are eight miles distant from Rome by the Via Collatina, an indication which agrees with that of Pliny (*H.N.* xxxi. 42), who states that the springs lie two miles to the left of the eighth milestone of the Via Praenestina, and (ii.) that the springs of the Aqua Appia are 780 paces to the left of the Via Collatina (the text of Frontinus has "Via Praenestina," but it has been demonstrated by Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, 35, that no such springs exist there, and that the reading must be altered into Collatina), between the sixth and seventh milestones, and that Augustus increased the volume of water by tapping some fresh springs situated to the left of the Via Praenestina near the Via Collatina. It is probable, in fact, that the road was used in the time of the Empire mainly for the service of the aqueducts. No mention of it occurs in the Itineraries, nor have any of its milestones (though it must have possessed them) been discovered.

Paulus (*Ad Fest.* p. 37, Müller) mentions a Porta Collatina, deriving the name Collatia from the fact that the wealth of other cities was collected there. The name has probably arisen from a confusion (Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 1, 245). Attempts have been made to identify it with a small postern just to the S.E. of the Porta Tiburtina, but this is of course not a gate in the Servian, but in the Aurelian wall. It is, too, only eight feet in width, and was closed almost as soon as it was built (Nibby, *Mura di Roma*, 344).

The line of the road is represented by the lane known as Via Malabarba, a corruption of Mola Barba, which occurs in documents of the tenth century. The first part of this lane has been transformed by the construction of a new residential quarter outside the gate. As soon as the edge of this is reached the lane begins: and here it is crossed at right angles by an

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from the Porta Esquilina. Hülsen, however (*Forma Urbis Romae*, tab. i.), considers that in Republican times these two roads started from the Porta Esquilina, and names the strip of road between this gate and their bifurcation, a little way beyond the later Porta Tiburtina, "Via Gabina (Tiburtina Vetus)," by which he probably means that in early times the first few miles of the Via Collatina served as the first portion of the road to Gabii and Praeneste. Kiepert similarly marks a road (in his wall map of Latium) running direct from the Porta Esquilina to the second milestone of the Via Praenestina. The object in both cases is to explain the passage of Strabo quoted below (p. 150, note 1). Of Kiepert's road, however, there are no traces at all (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 24, 25): nor do I know of any road connecting the Via Collatina with the Via Praenestina within the first mile or two of the city.

ancient road leading from the Porta Maggiore to S. Lorenzo, the pavement of which was discovered in 1881 near the cemetery, at a depth of ten mètres below the present surface (*Bull. Com.* 1881, 203). On the Via Collatina no pavement exists *in situ*, but there are many loose paving stones along the road: and a house to the N. of it on the E. of the main railway line to Florence has many paving stones and much marble built into it. A mile from the gate the lane approaches the railway to Tivoli. The Via Collatina must have followed the same direction, and has been perfectly obliterated by it.[1] Two headless female statues were discovered N. of the railway, W. of the Casale Bertone, in 1900: they were fairly good in execution, though left rough at the back, which shows that they adorned a tomb, or were in some position where the front alone was visible. They had obviously been concealed where they were found, for each was lying on two paving-stones. Fragments of late walling were also found (*Not. Scav.* 1900, 89). Further N. are the remains of a villa, which was decorated with a great variety of marbles.

A tomb belonging to the road was discovered near Tor de' Schiavi in making the railway (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 81), and half a mile further on the pavement of the road was brought to light, at 1·60 m. below the present ground level (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 454, *Bull. Com.* 1887, 49). Just beyond the site of the fourth milestone, which lies to the N. of the fourth milestone of the Via Praenestina, the line of the old road comes once more into present use, being reached by a short modern branch from the Via Praenestina (p. 161). The bridge crossing the Fosso di Centocelle is modern, but the channel beneath it is paved with old paving stones, and so is the space in front of the fountain of the Acqua Vergine. Many of the bridges, too, have old paving stones used as kerb stones. Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 99) states that he saw here and there blocks of tufa which supported the ancient road, and speaks of the cuttings made for it through the hills as a sure proof of its antiquity. Further arguments in favour of the antiquity of the road as a whole are those drawn from the passages of Frontinus quoted above, and the fact that the construction of such a road in mediaeval times is in the highest degree improbable. About 300 yards beyond the site of the fourth milestone some tombs were discovered in making the railway, constructed of tiles laid so as to form a gabled roof over the bodies: one tile bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 361, of A.D. 123–125. The date is, however, no indication of the period to which the tombs belong, which must be far later. The tombs were inclosed by a rough wall of unmortared blocks of tufa.

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[1] It seems probable that long before the construction of the railway it was not easy to trace, for, though Ameti (1693) and Fabretti (*De Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, Diss. i. tab. i. 1st ed. 1680) mark it perfectly correctly, subsequent writers do not. The sudden turn at right angles of the Aqua Virgo, so as to run parallel to the road, is strong evidence that it took this line.

Three hundred yards further E. remains of walls in opus reticulatum were found, and an amphora with the inscription ALEXANDE/// (*C.I.L.* xv. 3398) on each of the handles. (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 454, *Bull. Com.* 1887, 50.)

It is curious to observe how much the road winds, and how it continually crosses and recrosses the aqueduct; but I have not been able to detect any trace of its having originally taken a straighter course than it does at present.

To the N. of the road, near the fifth milestone, lies the large Casale of Cervelletta, which is situated nearly a mile to the S. of the great red tufa quarries known as the Grotte di Cervara (Fig. 1).[1] These are now entirely abandoned, and overgrown with bushes and climbing plants, so that the general effect is most picturesque.

Close to the railway station of Cervara, S. of the line, are the remains of a network of small passages, cut in the rock and lined with cement. They were used for the storage of water for the use of a villa, of which some traces exist. A mile to the E. of Cervelletta is the Casale della Rustica. The older casale stands on the side of a hill, while a newer building occupies the summit. In front of the latter are the sadly damaged remains of a fine mosaic pavement, much of which has been recently destroyed: what remains consists of geometrical designs in black and white; and I was told that the missing portion was similar. The hill is pierced by a system of passages cut in the rock, 1 m. in width, and about 2 m. in height, which served for the storage of water, round shafts being cut at intervals so that the cisterns should be accessible from above. The cement with which these passages are lined is very hard opus signinum. It is curious that Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 45) mistook the main passage of this system for the specus of the Aqua Virgo, for the level is far too high: the aqueduct does as a fact pass under the hill, but at a lower level. Nibby also mentions the existence of opus quadratum and opus incertum behind the older casale. These remains have now disappeared, but, besides the mosaic pavement mentioned above, fragments of marble reliefs and an Ionic capital testify to the presence of an important building here. A few years ago a marble cippus was found here decorated with reliefs on all four sides. The front represents the façade of a tomb : on each side of the door is a cypress, and beyond this a square pilaster : on the back is a well executed relief of a bull, while on each of the sides is an olive tree, with a stork on either side, one of which holds a snake. The cippus measures 0·71 m. in width by 0·53 in depth : the top is broken off, and the height is at present 1·02 m. To the S.E., not far from the road, are the remains of a villa. On the N. of the casale, at a distance of a mile and a half from the road, and close to the Anio, are more quarries like those of Cervara. Among these, close to the river bank, is a small platform supported by walls of rough opus quadratum of tufa, with architectural fragments in travertine, which may be the base of a small temple.

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[1] For the use of this and some other photographs (Figs. 4, 7, 12) I am indebted to the kindness of Miss Dora Bulwer.

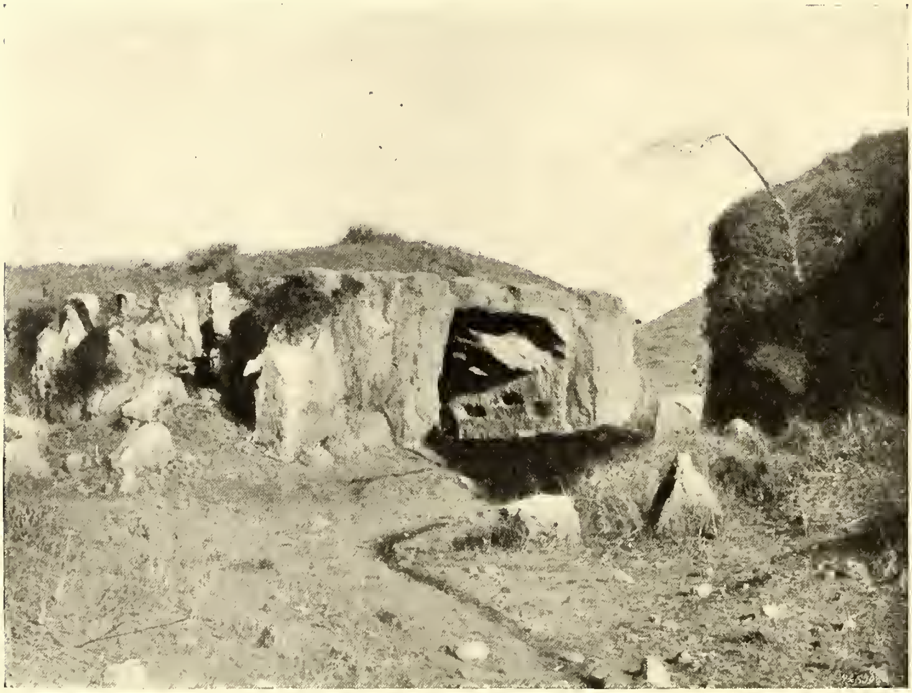

FIG. 1.—TUFA QUARRIES (GROTTE DI CERVARA).

Parker's assertion that he had found the specus of the Aqua Appia in the quarries of La Rustica is not credible, not to mention the fact that the quarries are just double the distance named by Frontinus from the Via Collatina, (see Lanciani, *loc. cit.*), and no springs that could be taken for those of the aqueduct are at present visible in the neighbourhood. The name "Le Piscine" given by the Staff Map to a piece of ground to the W. of the quarries arises simply from the existence there of a small tunnel cut in the rock for a length of about 70 yards—probably a water reservoir, connected with a villa—which could hardly have anything to do with a great aqueduct.

Between Le Piscine and Cervelletta are the remains of a *villa rustica.* Returning to the road, we find on the hill N. of it, a little before the ninth kilomètre is reached, the remains of a large villa.

Before the eleventh kilomètre stone, which is near the site of the ancient eighth milestone, in the garden S. of the road, is a large dolium 4·30 m. in circumference, the aperture having a diameter of 0·62 m. It was found buried up to the lip in the stone quarries a little to the E.; and I was told that no traces of any building were seen near it. There are, however, there the remains of an extensive villa which have been brought to light by quarrying operations. To the N. of the road is a mediaeval tower; in the flat ground below it the springs of the Aqua Virgo are collected and introduced into the aqueduct, the subterranean channel of which is to a large extent of Roman date. The lane which leads hence northwards has ancient paving stones as kerb stones, and there are others in use as pavement round the fountain just S. of the railway. They have probably been taken from the Via Collatina, unless they belonged to the deverticulum leading to the springs of the Aqua Appia (Frontinus, *De Aquis*, i. 5).

In clearing away some earth close to the springs of the aqueduct in December 1900, some late tombs (in which the bodies were covered by two tiles forming a gabled roof) were discovered. One bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1512 b, the other (a flange tile 0·57 × 0·33 wide inside flanges) 1323 a. Further excavations have led to the discovery of the remains of a villa, in which were found two brickstamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 362, 709 b) of the time of Hadrian and some unimportant inscriptions (see *Bull. Com.* 1901, 155; *Not. Scav.* 1901, 328). Excavations were made in 1775 by Niccolo la Piccola in the tenuta of Salone in the quarto di Prato Bagnato, to the S. of the Via Praenestina (p. 171). *C.I.L.* vi. 10837 and 19338 were found in the same tenuta, and were placed in the Museo Rusconi (Marini, *Schede*), while *C.I.L.* vi. 20595 was preserved in the sixteenth century in the Villa of Cardinal Trivulzio, now the Casale of Salone.[1] The springs were situated within the property of Lucullus (Frontinus, *De Aquis*, i. 10), which in the time of Trajan was in the hands of Ceionius Commodus (ii. 70), the adoptive son of Hadrian, father of Lucius Verus, through whom it became part of the imperial domain. The springs of the Aqua Appia lay 780 paces from the road, nearer the river Anio; but as the aqueduct began at a depth of 50 feet below ground, it would be difficult to identify them exactly.

The cutting of the road up the hill from the eleventh kilomètre appears to be ancient, and is paved with broken selce, perhaps fragments of paving stones. At the top of the next descent the modern road has been deepened, and the line of the ancient road has been cut obliquely. The pavement is seen on the left in the bank. The modern road now crosses to the left of the ancient, which may be traced by a level space on the right. Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 100) saw paving stones (not *in situ*) hereabouts. See also the MS. notes of the late Henry Stevenson (volume labelled *Vie Prenestina e Labicana*) which are now preserved in the Vatican Library.

Just before the twelfth kilomètre stone is reached, the modern road turns sharply to the N.; just after it has done so, a cart track goes off due E. This, by the cuttings made for it through the rock, is clearly seen to be an ancient road, and to the N. of the Casale Benzone there are a few paving stones *in situ* in one of these cuttings, which is 4·80 mètres in width.

It is this road that is rightly taken by Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. i. tab. i, and map opp. p. 90: cf. p. 159)[2] to be the real Via Collatina, while Nibby (*Analisi* map) and Gell (map) make the Via Collatina diverge from the road to Lunghezza about a mile nearer Rome. But the view of the first two writers, that Collatia stood, not at Lunghezza, but at Castellaccio dell' Osa, has no foundation in fact (p. 148), and the road, as we shall see, does not lead there.[3] The absence of pavement *in situ* can be easily accounted for. Lanciani (*op. cit.* p. 122) gives the following extract from the *Archivio del Ministero di Belle Arti* (v. 1. 5), "nel Dicembre del 1858 il Serafini affittuario di Lunghezza scoprì e distrusse buon tratto del selciato antico, per cavarne materiali destinati ad una maceria. Il selciato era largo m. 2·67, e nascosto da soli 12 centimetri di terra." Fabretti (*De Aquis*, p. 160) notes that the road had only this width instead of the fourteen feet which the important highroads had, and the fact that Fabretti identified correctly the course of the ancient road shows that it was this, and not the modern road to Lunghezza, that was destroyed by Serafini.

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[1] *C.I.L.* vi. 20609 was seen there in the seventeenth century, but existed in Rome itself, near S. Angelo in Pescheria, in the sixteenth.

[2] The references are to the second edition (the one generally met with) published in 1788. The first edition (1680) does not contain the second of the two maps cited.

[3] Nor is there, so far as I know, any trace of the prolongation of this road to Ponte Lucano or to Le Cappannelle which Fabretti and Ameti (in his map published in 1693) both show. The theory is probably due to confusion with the road described below on p. 177.

The Tenuta Benzone was the scene of some important excavations in 1883 (described by Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1883, 169). The excavations were opened at the highest point, on the site of the Casale, and the remains of a villa attached to a large estate were found, constructed of opus reticulatum and brick. The floors lay at a depth of 1·20 m. below the modern level. The chief apartment was of the basilican shape, measuring 22 m. by 10 (the diameter of the apse being 5 m.) with two rows of columns: one good composite capital was found, and two bases, made of the fragments of an inscription of the gens Coponia turned upside down, were still in position, with the marble threshold between them. In the centre of the coarse mosaic pavement was a square basin or fountain, with an emissarium cut in the tufa rock below. Behind the basilica were three rectangular halls, orientated like it E. and W., and one circular room containing a bath with steps down to it. All these rooms were paved with rhombi of veined marbles. In the large room were found three fine antefixae of terra cotta, a bust of rare alabaster (cotognino) without the head, and a dolium with the inscription *C.I.L.* xv. 2524.

Two square shafts cut in the rock and probably communicating with Roman water cisterns may be seen, one N., the other S. of the Casale.

The Via Collatina now descends into the valley E. of the Casale Benzone. Here it was probably joined by a deverticulum from the Via Praenestina (p. 175), which continues to the N. of it along the left bank of the stream, but cannot be traced very far. Above it on the W. are the remains of a large villa in opus reticulatum, and in the side of the hill close to it is a tomb cut in the rock, square, with three recesses, one containing a sarcophagus cut in the rock, while the other two have shelves for the bodies. Before the Via Collatina crosses the stream it passes N. of a large square open water reservoir constructed of small rectangular blocks of tufa with much mortar between them. In the cliffs to the S. of this is a tomb cut in the rock. On the further side of the stream it passes N.E. through another cutting, and at the tenth mile from the Porta Viminalis crosses the valley which runs under the W. side of the plateau on which Collatia stood. Passing under the S. extremity of the plateau, it ascends by a deep cutting on the E. side, which displays all the characteristics of ancient work, being so arranged that any one attempting to enter by it would be exposed to attack from either side.

To the E. of it, at the point where it enters the city, is a square shaft cut in the rock to a depth of 15 feet, probably an ancient well.

From this entrance to the city a road ran S. to the Osteria dell' Osa, keeping high above the W. bank of the stream (p. 177), while another ancient road probably ran below the cliffs on the E. side of the city through the narrow valley which separates them from the long ridge to the S., as the field wall flanking the modern track is full of paving stones. This road soon joined the road from Gabii, which comes from the E. bank of the Osa, and is described on p. 148, and enters the city in a N.W. direction. At the point of junction are three rock-hewn tombs, which have lost their original form. Three other tombs may be seen on the further bank of the Fosso dell' Osa, a few hundred yards further to the N.E.

Ascending to the plateau, we find a perfectly level rectangular space, destitute, it is true, of remains of city walls, of ancient buildings, or even of fragments of pottery, but presenting an admirable site for a city. It is protected on the S.W. and N.E. by deep and wide valleys, which in ancient times were probably more marshy than they are at present; on the S.E. a narrow but deep valley, which may be artificial (the cliffs of the plateau itself have certainly been scarped in places, especially W. of the entrance from Rome), separates it from the long ridge which runs down to the Osteria dell' Osa: while on the N.W. a narrow neck connects it with the rock on which the mediaeval castle of Lunghezza stands. This is itself protected on the N. and W. by the Anio (which in ancient times probably ran immediately under the N. end of the hill, instead of making a long bend as at present), and on the S. by a deep valley. The rock has clearly been much scarped, though at what date is doubtful. To the E. of the Casale is a large open quarry, which may be of mediaeval origin.

The site is thus one peculiarly adapted for an ancient Latin city, and the position of the arx is characteristic. The city walls, if such ever existed, may have been destroyed by time or by the hand of man, or the scarping of the cliffs may have been considered sufficient. As to Collatia, classical writers give us little information, and the identification is made with the help of the passages of Frontinus, which enable us (p. 139) to identify the road which leads direct to this place with the Via Collatina. Livy (i. 38) tells us that it was taken from the Sabines, while Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 774) speaks of it as a Latin colony. In the time of Cicero it had lost all importance (*De Lege Agraria*, ii. 35, 96). Strabo (v. 3, 2, p. 230) classes it, along with Antemnae, Fidenae, and Labicum, among places τότε μὲν πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κῶμαι κτήσεις ἰδιωτῶν; and Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 68) enumerates it among the lost cities of Latium. There are no traces of any Roman villa, such as are often found upon the sites of ancient Latin towns; but these may have been obliterated by the construction of the castle, which is in its present form a large fortified farmhouse. In the courtyard are several fragments of marble columns, and three Corinthian capitals; there are also many Roman paving stones in the pavement. The inscriptions found here or hereabouts are few and unimportant (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3905–3907). A Greek metrical sepulchral inscription, found either here or at Tor dei Sordi, is published by Grossi-Gondi, *Il Tempio di Castore e Polluce sul Tuscolo* (Rome, 1901, p. 17).

It now remains to be decided whether the modern road to Lunghezza, from the point where the Via Collatina leaves it, follows the line of an ancient road or not. The fact that the road has been recently gravelled and put in order, and the face of the rock in the cuttings smoothed (especially in those just after the twelfth and thirteenth kilomètre stones), renders it more difficult to do so; but it is most probable that we should answer in the affirmative. There are no paving stones *in situ*, but several are in use in the bridge over the stream just to the E. of the thirteenth kilomètre.[1] Shortly beyond this the modern road diverges to the right towards the railway station, while a lane descends to the left of it, and crossing the stream by a modern bridge, reascends steeply to Lunghezza. Halfway up the ascent a small tomb chamber cut in the rock is seen on the left, the opening of which (now filled up) was on the W., the hole at the E. end having been made later. This would seem to indicate that the approach to Lunghezza, if not entirely of mediaeval origin, was at any rate widened at some later time.

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[1] A little E. of the place where the road crosses the railway, a mediaeval cemetery belonging to some *domus culta* near Lunghezza was found in making the railway in 1886 (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 55).

It is, however, to be noticed that Gell (*Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, 174) says: "from the point where the road to Castel dell' Osa quits the direct line of the carriage road, [*i.e.*, about the tenth kilomètre], an ancient Via (the pavement of which is very visible) runs by Salone to Lunghezza." Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 100) noticed, at the point where the road turns E. as it reaches the Anio, traces of the walls which supported the road.

Stevenson, too, in his MS. notes, states that he considers that an ancient road ran between Salone and Lunghezza: and the evidence for it seems sufficient. In any case it was not the earliest road to Collatia.

The road which from Collatia crosses to the E. bank of the Osa divides directly after the crossing, one branch apparently going on due eastwards, though it is only traceable for quite a short distance, while another followed the right bank of the stream, going also towards the Osteria dell' Osa (Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 481). For the first mile or so no traces of it exist, but about half a mile to the N. of Castellaccio it seems to descend from the plateau above the valley into the valley itself. It does not however run along the bottom of the valley, but at a certain height above it, supported on the outer side by a retaining wall about a mètre high. This wall often rests on a shelf cut in the rock to receive it. It is constructed of rough polygonal work of silex ('selce'), the local rock being red tufa. There is, I believe, no other instance of polygonal work so near to Rome. The road is probably one of the most ancient in the Roman Campagna, being the direct line of communication between Collatia and Gabii. At the time of its construction the bottom of the Osa valley must have been so marshy as to be unsuitable for the passage of a road along it.

Shortly after the traces of the road begin to appear, some rock-cut tombs are seen on the opposite side of the valley. Castellaccio dell' Osa is soon reached. This is a ruined castle on a cliff overhanging the valley on the E. and is taken by Fabretti (*De Aquis*, p. 159) and Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 475 sqq.) to be the site of Collatia. As I have already stated, there are no traces of a road leaving the road to Lunghezza and running directly to this point. Nor is the site itself suitable for an ancient city. It is quite without defence on the N., E., and S.: the ground to the E. of it is, in fact, quite level (see Gell, *Environs of Rome*, 171). There are no traces of ancient pottery, such as one would expect to find on such a site. The wall of opus quadratum of yellow tufa blocks, which is built on the edge of the cliff on the W., is taken by Nibby to be a part of the city wall, but may just as well be part of the substructure of a villa which, from the presence of fragments of marble, may be supposed to have stood here: the blocks are two Roman feet in height and thickness, which is larger than the usual size of the blocks employed in early Latin fortifications, arranged in headers and stretchers in alternate courses, and the wall is about eight feet thick.

The road continues to the S. of Castellaccio. Nearly half a mile beyond it, it is supported by a piece of wall of rough opus quadratum of red tufa, which must be of later date than the polygonal work. On the opposite side of the valley is a square cutting, affording an ascent to the plateau above, in the N. side of which cutting are some unmistakable rock-hewn tombs. The road must have continued southwards along the stream, joining the Via Praenestina to the E. of the Osteria dell' Osa (p. 177). Nibby (*op. cit.* i. 481) saw, he says, unmistakable traces of it.

VIA PRAENESTINA.

I.—FROM THE PORTA MAGGIORE TO TOR DE' SCHIAVI

(from the First to the Third Milestone).

The Via Praenestina, like all other roads starting from Rome, began technically from the gate by which it passed through the Servian wall, the Porta Esquilina, from which issued also the Via Labicana, and from this point the distances of the Itineraries are calculated:

Itin. Ant. and *Tab. Peut.* Gabii 12 miles,[1] on to Praeneste 11 miles, (see p. 187). The extant milestones of the road, three in number, do not help us much.[2] As far, however, as the bifurcation of the Labicana and the Praenestina at the tomb of Eurysaces the road ran within the inhabited area, and a description of its course belongs rather to the topography of the city of Rome.[1] It will be more convenient therefore to begin from the magnificent double arch of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus, now known as the Porta Maggiore, which carried the aqueducts over the two roads just before their bifurcation, which is marked by the fact that the left opening, through which the Via Praenestina passes, is slightly askew. This arch was incorporated with the wall of Aurelian, and converted into a gate of the city. Honorius closed the left hand aperture, leaving only the right hand one open, and building a tower upon the tomb of Eurysaces the baker, which stood, as its peculiar shape shows, at the point where the roads separated. This tomb, which belongs to the last century of the Republic, was exposed to view in 1838, when the tower of Honorius was removed (Canina, *Annali*, 1838, 219; *Edifizi*, iv. tav. 225, 278; *C.I.L.* i. p. 222, vi. 1958; Jordan, *Topographie*, I. 1. 358). The inscription had however been seen and copied by Baldassare Peruzzi (*Sched. Flor.* 663′, Ferri, *Catalogo*, p. 175: cf. also the Destailleurs portfolio in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Berlin, A 376 f. 24′), so that it must have been accessible from the inside of the tower. Ligorio (MS. Bodl. f. 85′) makes an interesting comparison between the so-called *rustica* work of the Porta Maggiore (the surface being intentionally left rough) and the pseudo-archaic polygonal walls which support the terraces of some of the great villas near Tivoli.

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[1] Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 279) states that the Antonine Itinerary gives the distance from Rome to Gabii as fifteen miles, which would of course be erroneous; but he is apparently misquoting the Itinerary, which, according to Parthey and Pinder's edition (1848), p. 143, gives the distance correctly.

[2] The slip in *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 457: *Viae Praenestinae nulli extant cippi milliarii* is an unfortunate one. One (*C.I.L.* x. 8306) is fragmentary, of the time of Maxentius, noted as situated "nel pozzo in una masseria fuori porta Maggiore." Another (*C.I.L.* x. 6886) also belongs to the time of Maxentius, and bears the number seven (upon the reverse is *C.I.L.* vi. 1342), but was found in a garden within the Aurelian walls, certainly, therefore, not in its original position. The last is described below (p. 198).

The name of the locality was "Ad Spem Veterem," though no remains of the temple, to the existence of which the name points, have ever been discovered. It is one of the most important topographical centres of ancient Rome, as the meeting point of nine roads and probably of as many aqueducts—certainly of eight; this being the side which afforded the easiest approach to the city.[2]

The Via Praenestina here leaves the Labicana on its right, and runs almost due E., continuing in this direction as far as the Ponte di Terra, an ancient bridge about two miles beyond Gabii, after which its general direction is S.E. There are but few important turns, and the desideratum of straightness is wonderfully well satisfied, considering the difficulty of the country traversed beyond Gabii. The engineering of the road is on the whole very good, though the ascents and descents are frequent and in some places steep, and in one case (p. 202) a difficulty has been, it would seem, wrongly dealt with.

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[1] Strabo (v. 3, 9, p. 237), though he is writing of the state of affairs after the construction of the tomb of Eurysaces, speaks as if the bifurcation took place at the Porta Esquilina: *ἡ Λαβικανὴ ἀρχομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἠσκυλίνης πύλης, ἀφ᾽ ἧς καὶ ἡ Πραινεστίνη, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ᾽ ἀφεῖσα καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἠσκυλῖνον, πρόεισι κ.τ.λ.*

But it is impossible to suppose that the two roads separated, and then reunited after a mile at the Porta Maggiore, to separate once more just outside it. The passage of Strabo, therefore, remains inexplicable. Cf. Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 1, 358, 362, and *supra*, p. 139n.

[2] See Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, 36.

For the first mile after leaving the gate the continuance of habitation and cultivation has destroyed almost all traces of antiquity, and records of excavations are scanty. The pavement of the road was discovered in 1859 within the Vigna Villaume, at some distance from the wall enclosing it (see Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, 90, who cites the *Archivio del Ministerio Pontificio di Belle Arti*, v. 1, 5). Pirro Ligorio (MS. Bodl. f. 60′.) gives a plan of a square tomb surmounted by a cone or *meta*, and a chamber in the interior in the form of a Greek cross entered from the N. side, which, he says, was much damaged. He gives no details as to its position; but as it apparently came first in his description of the road, it cannot have been very far from the gate.

The late Henry Stevenson (in his MS. notes, f. 4,) gives the following inscription as existing in the vineyard on the right of the road at the first kilomètre upon a slab of marble built into the wall of the well.

TI·CLAVDIO
SABINO

One of the steps leading to the wine-cellar is formed of a slab of marble bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 16393, Cornelia Festa | hic situs est.

In the vineyard on the right at the first mile (the Vigna Sanguigni) Stevenson copied the following unpublished inscription upon a marble slab:

D·M
SERVILIAE·PHILTATE
C· C· F· B· M
VIX·ANN XXI·M IV
T·FLAVIUS· RHODON

Shortly after leaving the gate—just by the stables of the tramway—a by-road, the Vicolo del Pigneto, diverges to the right. This is probably an ancient road—though indications of antiquity are few.[1] Beyond the Vigna Pulini, where are a few ancient fragments, it is now interrupted, but the line is taken up again by the prolongation E. of the Vicolo dei Carbonari (p. 221) and it would fall directly into the line of the road described on p. 166.

Ficoroni (Mem. 8 in Fea's *Miscellanea*, vol. i.) mentions that one mile from the gate, upon this road, but nearer to the Via del Pigneto, in 1703, in the Vigna Cavallini Buonaccorsi, in the remains of a large mausoleum,[2] was found a sarcophagus with the bones and skull of the deceased wrapped in a shroud of a substance not unlike asbestos, known as amianth, which was placed in the Vatican Library by Clement XI.

Fea, *Varietà di Notizie*, xiii. p. 145, tells us that in 1818 excavations were made in his presence by Contessa Buonaccorsi, but that nothing was found but remains of pavements, the floor of a water reservoir, a few fragments of inscriptions and of decorative marbles.

At the first kilomètre from the modern gate a sepulchral cippus of the end of the Republic was found in 1899 (*Bull. Com.* 1899, 261). The first existing monument of importance is the Torrone, on the left of the road, a little less than a mile from the Porta Maggiore. This is an enormous round tomb about 45 m. in diameter, in the centre of which is a square chamber, built in opus quadratum of peperino, which measures only four mètres by five, and is approached by a long passage eighteen or nineteen mètres long and about 1·25 m. high, which runs right through the concrete core; the entrance is from the N. side, away from the road. The stonework of the outside has naturally entirely disappeared. A view of the tomb is given by Pietro Sante Bartoli (*Sepolcri Antichi*, tav. 58), and a plan and conjectural restoration by Canina (*Edifizi di Roma*, v. p. 86, vi. tav. 105). The tomb is the largest in the suburbs of Rome, but the owner is unknown. Canina, on the strength of Eusebius, *Chron. Ol.* 175, 3: *Titus Quinctius Atta scribtor togatarum Romae moritur sepultusque via Praenestina ad miliarium II.* makes Atta the occupant; but the attribution is of course quite groundless.

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[1] In *Bull. Com.* 1891, 321, the existence is recorded of two sepulchral cippi, which very probably belonged to this road (and if so, go far to prove its antiquity) in the Vigna Serventi. The inscription of both is identical—one is used as a step in the wine-cellar, the other was found close to the Vicolo del Pigneto.

There are indications of an ancient road having diverged E.N.E. at the Vigna Pulini, following the boundary between the Tenuta dell' Acqua Bollicante and the vineyards, which belong to the Basilica of St. Peter; but where the boundary stops all traces of the road are lost. At the Vigna Rocchi are several fragments of marble columns and capitals, some broken selce, and a sarcophagus ornamented with undulating channels, bearing the following unpublished inscription upon a *tabula ansata* in the centre.

·D · M·
M·AVR·AVG LIB.
CHRYSOMALLVS
SE VIBVS·EMIT·SIBI
ET·POSVIT·

The sarcophagus is 2·13 m. in length, and 41 cm. in height, while the tablet measures 39 by 31 cm., the letters being 3 cm. in height.

[2] This detail is due to the *Diario di Roma*, Jan. 2, 1819 (reprinted in Fea, *Varietà ai Notizie* xiii. p. 144), where the date is given as 1702.

To the W. of it must have stood the tomb of M. Aurelius Syntomus (Ficoroni, *Labico*, 28; *C.I.L.* vi. 13244/5), the inscription in honour of whom still exists in the vineyard where it was found, with other marble fragments.

Just before reaching this point are traces of the ancient pavement of the road. Stevenson notes that he saw the track of the road in the Vigna del Torrone. Near the Torrone, in the small Vigna Bertone, the inscription of M. Antonius Terens, *negotiator celeberrimus suariae et pecuariae*, was discovered in 1892 (*Not. Scav.*, 1892, 23; *Bull. Com.* 1891, 318; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 515). In the Vigna di Nola, to the N. of the Torrone, are the remains of a villa of the first century A.D. (*Bull. Com.* 1891 p. 322).

The road now descends through a cutting in the rock, which bears marks of antiquity (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 627). High on the left are two passages cut in the rock, which in Nibby's time radiated from a shaft, the top of which was constructed in opus reticulatum, which has now disappeared: they are probably connected with the water supply of a villa. A cutting recently made here as an entrance into the vineyard revealed other foundations in opus reticulatum and late tombs. (Stevenson MS. cit. f. 4′.)

At the bottom of the valley is the Marranella stream. The Vigna Aragni near the bridge has produced a certain number of sepulchral inscriptions (*Not. Scav.*, 1876, 89; 1878, 166 = *C.I.L.* vi. 8496, 10638, 12078, 14288, 15087, 24783, 28770).

On the further side of the bridge the Via Praenestina is crossed at right angles by the new military road, on the W. of which is a fairly well preserved tomb in ornamental brickwork, entered from the W. side, which was the most highly decorated. This fact may point to the existence of a deverticulum running southwards past the façade of this tomb to the Via Labicana, though no traces of such a road have, so far as I know, been discovered. At this point several tombs and columbaria[1] which lined the road, five of which had mosaic pavements, were found in 1880 together with the pavement of the road itself (*Not. Scav.*, 1880, 479; 1881, 106; Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1509, 1840; *C.I.L.* vi. 24447, 25424, 25859a, 28131, 30528 (1–4), xv. 272—a brickstamp of 123 A.D.); also, though in made ground, a statue of Hercules in Luna marble 90 cm. high (head and arms wanting), of good sculpture, with the following inscription on the plinth: *Herculi Iovio sacrum C. Voltilius Alexander fec(it)*. The epithet Iovius is unique. The reference may be to Diocletian and Maximian (cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 255, 256; *Bull. Com.* 1880, 286; 1881, 4). On the E. side of the military road, and still on the S. of the Via Praenestina, on the edge of the hill, is another brick tomb, with a modern house upon it. A niche, elegantly decorated with a scallop shell pattern in stucco, is still preserved. In front of the tomb, at a distance of 10 m. from the edge of the highroad, there was discovered a Γ-shaped enclosure, formed by a wall of opus reticulatum 12 m. in length, and another at right angles to it running towards the road, with columns of bigio marble in front of them—the columns had in later times been half hidden by masonry. In this tomb were found various terra-cotta charms against the evil eye, including two bells, a fig and some nuts (described by Padre Bruzza in *Annali*, 1881, 290, and illustrated in tav. d'agg. U, where a plan of the tomb is also given). In the area of the tomb were found two waterpipes bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xv. 7477.

Behind this point to the S.E. are the remains of a good-sized villa which occupied the top of the knoll, constructed partly of opus reticulatum with tufa bricks at the angles (a style of building which belongs to the beginning of the Empire) partly of brickwork. In the latter I found the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 712 (*aetatis Hadrianae fortasse incipientis*). There are remains of large pavements of black and white mosaic, still in fair preservation, and fragments of marble are plentiful.

The modern road ascends the hill by means of a curved cutting breaking through, on the left, the foundations of several tombs; the ancient road probably ran straight up the hill. Similar slight divergences of direction are not at all uncommon on this, as on other roads. When the Roman pavement fell into disrepair, in the early Middle Ages, it was found to be easier to make a new track, using the materials supplied by the tombs which lined the road, than to attempt to make the old one passable. It would be hard indeed to find anything worse than a Roman paved road which had been allowed to lie disused and out of repair for many centuries, after the even surface of the pavement had once been broken up.

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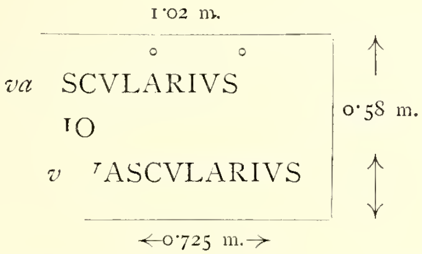
[1] One niche contained a leaden box (diam. 15 cm.) in which were some eggs.

Near the top of the hill on the left a small arcosolium cut in the rock, with traces of painting on the walls and roof, was found in 1888 (*Not. Scav.* 1888, 192) and still in part exists. It belonged to a small catacomb discovered in digging for pozzolana and now blocked up (Stevenson MS. *cit.* f. 5).

On the right, just before reaching the third kilomètre stone, are some foundations of a villa or tomb on the edge of a modern quarry. In the quarry itself lies a large block of travertine with the following unpublished inscription in finely cut letters 11 cm. in height.



On the upper edge of the inscribed surface are two small protuberances, probably intended for use in moving or fixing the stone. The tomb to which this inscription belonged was constructed of large blocks of tufa, some of which have also fallen into the quarry. Some of the *vascularii*, or makers of gold and silver plate, seem to have plied their trade on the Sacra Via (p. 159).

On a hill on the opposite side of the road some 100 yards off, 44 m. above sea level, are extensive remains of the foundations of two buildings. The group further from the road belongs to a large villa; the construction is in opus incertum, and is a fine specimen of this kind of work. Much finely painted stucco has fallen from the walls. The importance of the building is further shown by the extensive rock-cut passages of its drainage system and water reservoirs, which have been brought to light (and in large measure destroyed) by quarrying operations. The water reservoirs are distinguished by their lining of fine white cement.

The second group, nearer the road, consists of concrete foundations, and of remains of a brick structure of uncertain purpose, the brickwork of which is not good, the bricks themselves bearing small plain circular stamps (diameter about 5 cm.) which belong to a rather late date. Very likely it was one of the five water reservoirs mentioned by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 707) as existing near the Villa Gordianorum (Tor de' Schiavi).

Of the rest, two still exist on the S. side of the road (the eastern one of the two a very large square building resting upon vaulted foundations of brick and reticulatum with buttresses). To the N. of it are remains of a villa, presenting a curious mixture of construction. The walls are faced with small rectangular blocks of tufa, which near the angles alternate with courses of bricks, this latter being a style of facing often found in conjunction with opus reticulatum, whereas small rectangular blocks of tufa are generally held to indicate a late date. See, however, Winnefeld, *Villa des Hadrian*, p. 26 (*Jahrbuch des Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft iii.) for proof that this is not necessarily the case. The fourth reservoir lay a little to the S. (traces of the foundations remain): while the fifth lies on the N. of the road and is included in the group of buildings belonging to the Imperial villa.

Between the Porta Maggiore and Tor de' Schiavi on the left of the road in a vineyard (the locality is not precisely defined) the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 30529 was discovered, together with other remains in travertine of the large tomb to which it belonged. *C.I.L.* vi. 84 (an altar now in the Capitol, with the dedication *Caelo aeterno Terrae matri Mercurio menestratori*) was first seen in the Vigna Greppi along this road in the 17th century.

II.—VILLA GORDIANORUM (TOR DE' SCHIAVI).

The existence of such a villa on this road is attested by the following passage of Iulius Capitolinus (*Vita Gordiani*, iii. c. 32): *Domus Gordianorum etiam nunc extat, quam iste Gordianus pulcherrime exornavit. est villa eorum via Praenestina ducentas columnas in tetrastylo habens, quarum quinquaginta Carysteae, quinquaginta Claudianae, quinquaginta Synnades, quinquaginta Numidicae pari mensura sunt. In qua basilicae centenariae tres, cetera* *huic operi convenientia et thermae quales praeter urbem utcunque nusquam in orbe terrarum.* And the remains existing at this point are of such size and magnificence that the usual identification may fairly be accepted. Certain portions, however, must in this case have belonged to an earlier villa, as is shown by the style of their construction, while the round building, the so-called temple, is shown to be later by the brick stamps. It is not likely that the villa ever extended to the south side of the road, as communication between its two parts would have been rendered difficult by the continuous belt of tombs which flanked each side: and there is no reason for supposing that it did so.

Close to the road are some remains of foundations in opus reticulatum, and not far from them a shaft which very likely communicates with the drainage or water cisterns of the villa. A little further north is part of a lofty hall, octagonal below, circular above, lighted by round windows in the attic, built of brick with the vaulting lightened by the insertion of empty amphorae at intervals: a superstructure and a large round pillar in the centre, both built of small rectangular blocks of stone, have been added in mediaeval times.

In the Bodleian MS. of Pirro Ligorio (f. 30) a description is given of this building, with a plan and restoration of the exterior, and a sketch of the details of the stucco decorations of the interior. Ligorio calls it a temple, and attributes its destruction to its use as a fortress: "Questo è caduto per mano degli huomini, per che si uede che ne' tempi piu bassi, le gente factiose che erano i Roma, lo circundorno di un' altro muro, à guisa d'un reuellino, et sopra la uolta ne tirorono intorno un altro ornato di merli à modo di ripari, hauendoui prima piantato un pilastro di pietre, dal centro del Tempio per insino à la uolta, per maggior sostegno di quella, et di quelli ripari fatti da loro, et cosi fù ridutto in forma et in uso di fortezza, la qual poi si come io mi credo . . . . per opera di qualche Pontefice, o' pur del Popolo Romano, fu gettata à terra per uia di fuoco."

A plan is also given by Piranesi (*Antichità Romane*, ii. tav. 29) which differs from that of Ligorio in showing other chambers round the central one, similar to those which surround the large nymphaeum of the Horti Liciniani, generally known as the temple of Minerva Medica; and on tav. 30 are shown two portions of the stucco decoration, the same as those sketched by Ligorio, but naturally in a worse state of preservation. At the present day they are still preserved in the vaulting of one of the rectangular niches which in the interior alternate with circular niches. Piranesi regarded the structure as a tomb. Canina (*Edifizi*, v. p. 88 *sqq.*, vi. tav. 106, 107) considered it to be the central chamber of the thermae of the villa: he adds a plan of them, which he confesses to be largely fanciful. Still less trustworthy is his plan of the three basilicas and of the tetrastyle of the villa, of which no authentic traces seem to exist.

Close to this building is a water reservoir constructed of opus reticulatum and brick (not later in date, therefore, than the age of the Antonines) in two stories, and fairly well preserved, though lately restored to some extent. To the E. of this is a large brick apse, belonging apparently to about the same period, which Canina takes to be a *nymphaeum*, Piranesi a tomb (*Antich. Rom.* ii. tav. 59, 60). Further N. again are traces of more buildings. Further E. again, and slightly nearer the road, upon the highest point of the hill, is a large circular building, 44 feet in diameter inside, with a colonnade in front, approached by a flight of steps. A considerable part of the building, and of its domed roof, is preserved. It was lighted by circular windows in the attic.

It has been the subject of many drawings by Renaissance architects. Besides those of Ligorio (see below) and many in the Uffizi collection (see Ferri, *Catalogo*, p. 162), plans and sketches are to be found in a volume of drawings at Windsor (that numbered xvii. by Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 719, ff. 32–34). Of the portico in front nothing remains but the concrete foundations. Ligorio, however (MS. Bodl. f. 33), who gives plans of both upper and lower stories, determines its length at 39 feet, its width at 17, and says that existing traces of the imposts of the columns and fragments of the columns themselves enabled him to do so. The columns were of "marmo Thebaico," and according to the imoscape and height of the capital were 20 palms (=4·446 m.) high. Several fragments of gray granite columns, 0·63 m. in diameter, are still to be seen. Canina says that the temple was surrounded by a colonnade with columns of Carystian marble, part of one of which and traces of the construction had been found. The exterior was decorated with stucco modelled in imitation of opus quadratum. Inside, above the windows, is a frieze of life-size figures painted in green. Ligorio (MS. Bodl. f. 33) and Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 707) speak of these paintings as Christian, but they seem to be of an entirely classical type, and to represent genre scenes.

Below is a chamber, resembling closely that which lies under the *heroon* of Romulus, son of Maxentius, near the Circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia, to which this building is very similar. It has a large central pillar, supporting the floor of the upper room, the distance between which and the walls is only 14 feet all round. This chamber probably served in both cases as the actual tomb.

The date of this building is fixed by the brick stamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 1627, 1628) as not earlier than the time of Diocletian, so that it can have nothing to do with the Gordiani.

Close to this building, on the E. side of it, are some scanty remains of the curved W. end of a small Stadium 12·40 m. wide.[1] In the neighbourhood of this villa, on both sides of the road, tombs have been discovered in great numbers. In the *Dissertazioni dell' Accademia Pontificia*, vol. viii. pp. xxi, xxii. are two inscriptions found by Prince del Drago in 1836. As they have not been recorded in the Corpus, I give the text of both. They belong to tombs on the right-hand side of the road.

M·ATIVS·DOMETIVS
VASCVLARIVS·DE·VIA·SACRA
M·ATI·ANTEROTIS·VASCVLARI
LIB·V·A·LXII
ET·HERES·IN·PARTE·SEXTA

T·FL·THESMO·ET
FL·EVDOSIAE
HEDIVS·CAES·N̄
SER·A·VESTE·MVND·
FECIT·PARENTIBVS
SIBI·ET·SVIS

Other sepulchral inscriptions found here are given in *Not. Scav.* 1883, pp. 82, 132; 1887, 188. In the first article a description is given of a group of tombs beginning 300 mètres from the third kilomètre stone from Rome, and lining each side of a road parallel to the Via Praenestina, which, if produced, would run along the front of the "temple" of Tor de' Schiavi. Most of these were of fine opus reticulatum, with niches for one or two urns, alternating with neat *aediculae*. The absence of brick would indicate that the opus reticulatum belonged to the first century; but the style of the inscriptions and of the stucco decorations points rather to the second or third century. It is also to be noted that *loculi* were found in the same tombs as the urns. It would seem therefore that these *columbaria* must have been left unoccupied for a long time after their construction, and used for the first time a century or two later. Several similar tombs are to be seen just beyond the Tor de' Schiavi on the N. edge of the modern road where it descends through a cutting; and in front of the Tor de' Schiavi some have been recently disclosed in digging holes for the planting of trees along the road. One was a small columbarium with brick walls, covered with stucco, with traces of painting. The W. end was probably 1·90 m. long, and had two niches 0·35 m. deep, each holding two urns: the lip of one of the urns lay 1·10 m. below the level of the modern road. It has already been filled in again.

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[1] The map is not on a sufficiently large scale to render it possible to indicate these remains with absolute accuracy—in fact, a good deal has been omitted from it at this and other crowded points in order to avoid confusion.

On the S. side of the road, on the rising ground above it, are several tombs in a better state of preservation, including two columbaria of opus reticulatum: one an elegant square structure with brick niches each containing two urns, alternately round and square, and traces of painting, which has been altered in late times. Another further E. has two or three tiers of urns in good preservation, and a bee-hive roof.

Lanciani (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 118) notes that these columbaria, which belong to the first and second centuries A.D., were partly constructed with materials from tombs of the end of the Republican period, as various inscriptions on blocks of travertine were found embedded in their walls. Similar violations of the sanctity of tombs in ancient times are less uncommon than is sometimes supposed. At Pompeii, in the area of the newly discovered temple of Venus Pompeiana near the Porta Marina, a marble slab bearing a sepulchral inscription of the Republican period has recently been found, which had been brought from a tomb outside the gate to be used as building material (*Not. Scav.* 1898, 422). In these columbaria there were no traces of inscriptions above the niches. Two inscriptions only were found, one on a marble cippus, the other on a marble stele. There were also found some tombs of a later period, covered with a gabled roof of tiles bearing the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 27.

Among the inscriptions recorded as having been found at or near Tor de' Schiavi are *C.I.L.* vi. 927 (*Neroni Caesari Aug. et sancto Silvan*[*o*] *aediculam cum imagin*[*e*] *Faustus Caesaris d*(*e*) *s*(*na*) *p*(*ecunia*) [*f*(*ecit*)], discovered by Fortunati in 1861–2); *C.I.L.* vi. 1945 (discovered by Capranesi at the beginning of last century), and various other sepulchral inscriptions, most of them discovered by Fortunati at the same time. (See index to *C.I.L.* xiv. which is however neither perfectly accurate nor absolutely complete). Fortunati also discovered a mosaic pavement with four female heads, representing the Four Seasons (*Bull. Inst.* 1861, p. 85). Fabretti (*Inscriptiones*, p. 12) gives a drawing of the interior of a columbarium found near Tor de' Schiavi in his day, showing the arrangement of niches and the distribution of the urns.

III.—FROM TOR DE' SCHIAVI TO PONTE DI NONA

(*from the Third to the Ninth Milestone*).

Just before the fourth kilomètre is reached, a modern road, wrongly supposed to be the ancient Via Collatina by Holstenius (*ad Cluverium*, p. 102), and many others (including Kiepert, in his map at the end of *C.I.L.* xiv.)[1] diverges to the N., which, at the crossing of the Tivoli railway, falls into the line of the ancient Via Collatina (*supra*, p. 140). On the S. of the road are the remains of a tomb or a small water reservoir, with two chambers, in two stories, presenting a curious mixture of construction. The inside of one of the walls is faced with excellent opus reticulatum, the outside with bricks and small rectangular blocks of tufa, one course of the former alternating with from one to four of the latter. This last style of construction one would ascribe to the fourth century were it not for the opus reticulatum on the inside of the wall.

In the vineyard known as "Pedica di Tre Teste" a sepulchral relief was found in 1897 (*Not. Scav.* 1897, 60). In the excavations for the construction of the fort on the S. side of the road, no discoveries of importance were made: a few tombs, "a capanna," *i.e.*, with the bodies lying on the ground, covered with a pointed gabled roof of tiles, a few coins, some glass spoons, and two *amphorae vinariae* (*Not. Scav.* 1881, 90).

Traces of tombs continue to be observed along the road, especially on the N. side. Here once stood a very fine brick tomb, known as the Casa Rossa from its colour (see dal Pozzo drawings at Windsor in the vol.

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[1] Nibby's map is incorrect, but he knew the truth (*Analisi*, iii. 627).

numbered xv. by Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 719), ff. 3, 5; Ficoroni, *Vestigi di Roma Antica*, Lib. i, c. 26; Cecconi, *Storia di Palestrina*, p. 17; Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 397, iii. 628), which was completely destroyed by Don Camillo Massimo in 1824. Not far off was discovered in the eighteenth century the tomb of a boy, in which was found a golden bulla (see Ficoroni, *Bolla d'Oro*, p. 6 *sqq.*, reprinted by Fea, *Miscellanea*, vol. i. p. 174, Mem. 117). Excavations conducted by Vescovali in 1819 at a distance of three miles from Rome, near the road, yielded the following inscriptions: *C.I.L.* vi., 1881, 9168, 11377, 12174, 15017, 15100, 16406, 16873, 17068, 19024, 19263, 19551, 23668. Also four pavements in black and white mosaic (one with a Gorgon's head in the centre), and two sarcophagi on one of which the figures in relief still bore traces of gilding. (See *Diario di Roma*, Jan. 2, 1819 = Fea, *Varietà di Notizie*, p. 145.) *C.I.L.* vi. 1463 was found here in 1830, and also two fine busts of unknown individuals now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (Helbig, *Führer*, i. nos. 41, 47), and one of Augustus,[1] and some other objects (*Bull. Inst.* 1829, 212; 1830, 123; 1832, 4; Nibby, iii. 712). A brick tomb and a sepulchral inscription were recently found in the property of Prince del Drago (*Not. Scav.* 1900, 26).

About 300 yards from the road on the N., at the Casale delle Cappellette, is a group of three brick tombs—the westernmost in two stories, and built of the fine ornamental brickwork, with thin bricks and very small layers of mortar, which is characteristic of tombs of the end of the second and beginning of the third century. (In this particular tomb I observed that ten bricks, with the layers of mortar between them, occupied only 28 cm.) They generally betray their real date by the inferior brickwork of their foundations. Further E. is an oblong building with vaulted roof and an apse at the W. end (where there is also some later work in opus mixtum) and five small oblong windows at the spring of the arch in the S. wall (in which are also two slit windows with marble lintels lower down). Close to it is a square tomb of bad brickwork, with four small windows; the interior is circular, with a domed roof. This group of tombs must belong to some intermediate road between the Viae Praenestina and Collatina, or to some large private estate.

Near this point a deverticulum may have joined the Via Praenestina, coming due N. from the Labicana and passing under the great arches of the Aqua Alexandrina, which shortly become visible to the right, crossing the Fosso di Centocelle. I have only been able, however, to trace the existence of a road by finding two tombs and some paving stones near the aqueduct; its continuation to the Praenestina (if it ever had any; Nibby and Gell mark it as running only for a little over half a mile from the point where it leaves the Labicana) has been obliterated. No traces of it, or of any other ancient road, were found during the construction of the fort.

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[1] Said to be in the Palazzo Casali.

About 5½ kilomètres from Rome, a few hundred yards to the right, are the remains of an extensive villa. The most conspicuous part is a square building, standing upon a lofty base, and apparently octagonal inside, constructed of opus mixtum (*i.e.* of courses of bricks and of small cubes of tufa alternately) with a binding course of tiles at the interval of 1·28 metres. Below it in the valley are extensive remains of floors of opus spicatum (herring-bone brickwork) and signinum, the former having the following section (from top to bottom):

opus spicatum, ·05 m.
fine layer of cement, ·1 m.
rough cement ("coccia pista"), with fragments of brick or tile, ·085 m.
grey pozzolana and tufa concrete: uncertain.

Just before reaching the sixth kilomètre stone there are some remains of tombs on the left of the road. Here a fragment of a large sarcophagus, similar to one in the Cortile del Belvedere in the Vatican, called "sarcofago proconsolare" (Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, V. tav. xxxi. p. 185 of the Milan edition), was discovered in 1888 (*Bull. Com.* p. 266, *Not. Scav.* p. 507).

On the left, extending as far as the Via Collatina, lies the Tenuta di Tor Sapienza (so called from the fact that it belongs to the "Sapienza" (*i.e.* Collegio) Capranica). Besides the inscriptions, &c. found by Vescovali in 1819 three miles from Rome near the road (cf. p. 162), and the objects discovered by him in 1830 in the same locality, excavations conducted by Fortunati in 1861 produced an enormous number of inscriptions, almost all of them sepulchral. A list (not complete nor quite accurate) may be found in the "index locorum recentiorum" at the end of Vol. xiv. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. The remains close to Tor Sapienza itself are quite insignificant.

At Torre di Tre Teste the line of tombs continues on each side of the road, though in most cases the foundations alone remain. The tower takes its name from a much damaged sepulchral relief with three portrait heads which is built into the little chapel. Stevenson (MS. cit.) makes the head on the (spectator's) right to be that of a woman, with the inscription PO//////A beneath it; the other two being men's heads, and the names illegible. Not far off he saw another similar relief with two female heads and one male, but without any inscription. This latter still exists in the garden of the casale (now an osteria), a little way to the W. This casale is partly built on ancient foundations, which can still be seen level with the ground on its E. side. Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 249) saw various architectural and other fragments there. The ancient road seems to have run just to the N. of the modern at this point. In the Tenuta di Tre Teste a mosaic pavement was found in December 1777, of which an engraving exists in the library of the German Archaeological Institute (Mau, *Katalog der Bibliothek*, i. 296). In the circle in the centre is Europa riding on the bull, in four subsidiary semi-circles Tritons, Nereids, sea-monsters, and floral patterns: these are separated by elaborate borders. In the same tenuta, *C.I.L.* vi. 15786 was found in 1728, and another sepulchral inscription and a bust in 1829 (*Bull. Inst.* 1832, 2).

Just before the bridge, Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 214) mentions a deverticulum following the right bank of the stream to the Via Collatina. The bridge over the Fosso di Tre Teste has two or three of the tufa blocks of the ancient bridge still *in situ*. Just beyond the bridge stood the sixth milestone of the ancient road. The road-cutting ascending from the stream is probably ancient; in it are various traces of tombs, and the remains of a villa may be seen on the north at the foot of the hill. The road diverging northwards at the top of the hill to the Via Collatina does not appear to be ancient, though, according to Frontinus (*De Aquis*, i. 5), the road leading to the springs of the Aqua Appia Augusta left the Via Praenestina near the sixth milestone, the springs of the aqueduct lying 980 paces to the left, close to the Via Collatina.

Just beyond the eighth kilomètre stone are some very interesting remains of a villa and of its system of water supply. The place bears the name of "Muraccio dell' Uomo."

Near the road is the entrance to a long tunnel cut in the tufa rock, descending steeply N.E. for thirty or forty feet, after which a circular chamber, 6·45 m. in diameter, and lined with cement, is reached: beyond this the tunnel continues and water soon begins to appear, while another tunnel branches off from it to the S.E. The water in the main tunnel was, we were told, one mètre deep, and there was a footway on each side. The water was clear and pure, and apparently fed by strong springs; for it was said that it was never exhausted, though its level sometimes changed.

These underground cisterns provided the water supply for the villa above. Between the entrance to them and the road a bathroom, with marble wall lining and mosaic pavement, had been discovered and destroyed. Various tombs had also been found near the road, and had met with a similar fate.

The farmhouse itself rests upon ancient foundations of red tufa concrete, orientated N.E. by S.W. A few yards N. of it is a mound, under which are the remains of another part of the villa. The mound has not been by any means completely excavated, and the chambers accessible belong entirely to the basement. The first which is entered is constructed of small blocks of tufa about 20 centimètres long by 6 to 8 high, with thick layers of mortar between. This mode of construction, if met with in Rome, would be assigned to the fourth century A.D. at the earliest, though it occurs at Hadrian's Villa,[1] and in other villas of the Campagna, where its close conjunction with opus reticulatum places it of necessity in the second century. It has, further, recently been found in some passages under the area of the Forum Romanum, which probably belong to Republican times (see *Classical Review*, 1902, 94). Below this is a hypocaust, the floor of which is composed of concrete resting upon *tegulae bipedales.* I found below the floor the rare stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 402, belonging to the time of Commodus: other stamped bricks were said to have been found and destroyed. The floor is supported by hollow terra-cotta socket pipes, each, not counting the socket, 32 cm. long; at least three were placed one above the other (the space below the floor is not completely cleared out): sometimes the top one is reversed, so that the socket does not fit into the pipe below, and there is often a small piece of brick between the pipe and the floor of tiles. The chamber measures 2·92 m. by 3·53 m., and there are six rows of supports one way and seven the other. In the course of the excavations a dolium and several rough household pots were found.

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[1] *See* Winnefeld, *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft iii. p. 26 *sqq.*

The district between the Viae Praenestina and Labicana was here traversed by an ancient road, the first part of which is in all probability represented by the modern Vicolo del Pigneto (p. 152), though I have not, after careful investigation, been able to find the connecting links. After the end of the prolongation eastwards of the Vicolo dei Carbonari there are no certain traces of the road (though its line may be assumed with some degree of probability, coinciding as it does with a boundary line for some way, until it crosses the Fosso di Centocelle) until, just to the N. of the Muraccio di Rischiaro, we reach a cutting made for it, which seems certainly ancient. There are some loose paving stones about, and this tower itself is full of fragments of them and of pieces of marble. Two of the latter bear a few letters of a sepulchral inscription :

TRATV
PHI

[*arbi*]*tratu* . . . . . | *Phi* . . . .

To the N. of the cutting are the remains of a church, which runs parallel with the road, built apparently upon an earlier building in opus quadratum. Further W., on the S. of the line of the road, is a mass of tufa which has been cut square (about 2·10 m. each side) which may have served to support a sepulchral cippus.

On the E. of the Fosso di Tre Teste are the remains of two water reservoirs (both single chambers, constructed in opus reticulatum, with buttresses) and of the villas which they supplied. On a brickstamp (lunate) which I found here I could only read

OPDOLEX////
//INF////
///////

It seems to have belonged to the second century. A few paving stones belonging to the road occur among these ruins. Its pavement is said to have been found in the fields about a kilomètre to the south of Muraccio dell' Uomo, and the cutting made for it through the hill appears unmistakably on the W. of the Fosso di Tor di Bella Monaca. Possibly also the tomb at point 54 to the N. of the aqueduct lies on its course. In the stream itself the pavement of the road may still be seen running due eastwards. It lies at about 2 m. below the modern ground level, and is in very good preservation and of good period. About two yards from it are some traces of a (presumably) mediaeval bridge.

The pavement itself is 3·13 mètres wide, the tufa *crepido* on each side is 51 cm. wide. The selce blocks of the pavement are bedded on tufa (Fig. 2). On the opposite side of the stream the cutting made for it is again visible, and a few paving stones lie in it: at the next ditch one or two paving blocks remain—the rest has been washed away. After this it passes through another cutting, above which I found lying on the ground part of a marble weight (the shape of a curling stone) with the mark of attachment for the metal handle, a lip of a dolium, and part of a marble plinth; unmistakable signs of some habitation. It then runs along the top of the hill, and descends to the Fosso di Tor Agnola. Here Fabretti (*De Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, Diss. i. tab. i.) marks a bridge in opus quadratum, which he attributes to the Aqua Alexandrina. This bridge has disappeared, but in the W. bank of the stream is the brick-built *specus* of the aqueduct, 90 cm. wide with rounded top, running in a S.E. direction. The

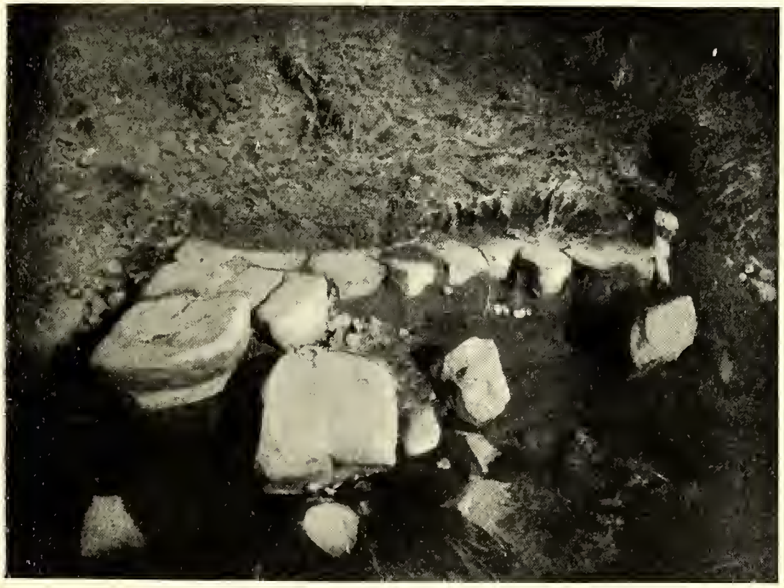

Fig. 2.—Pavement of an Ancient Road.

bridge therefore must have belonged to the road, and not to the aqueduct, which ran, perhaps, under the stream bed in Roman times. Beyond this point Fabretti marks 5 *putei* (inspection shafts) and remains of three more; and, following the cutting of the road through the next hill, we soon reach two of them, almost precisely 240 feet apart (which is the interval regularly observed) measuring 82 × 70 cm. inside: on the N. side are footholes 64 cm. apart. After this point the aqueduct, and probably the road as well, go off S.E. towards the Torraccio di S. Antonio; they are soon crossed by an ancient road running from the Osteria dell' Osa to the Via Labicana, which it reached a little beyond the eighth mile (see p. 176).

Returning to the Via Praenestina, we find distinct traces of the cutting made for it through the rock at the ninth kilomètre. On the right, on the edge of the cliff, are remains of a villa in opus reticulatum. At Tor Angela, which lies just on the line of the Aqua Alexandrina, and above the last conspicuous series of arches before Pantano (where its springs are) is reached, there are two sculptured marble bases, neither, however, with an inscription. One, the lower part of which only is preserved, measuring 59 cm. across the front × 47 cm. thick, bears a relief of a group of wolves; to the right a male, to the left a female with three cubs under her. There is also a marble capital, and many selce paving stones.[1] After crossing the stream called the Fosso di Tor di Bella Monaca, the road ascends again. For about a hundred yards of the ascent the cutting of the ancient road is traceable at a few yards distance to the S. of the modern one, which cuts through the tombs along its N. side; but about half-way up the hill it turns sharply, and they coincide once more.

On the left of the road between the ninth and tenth kilomètres are various unimportant remains, some of late date, others foundations of tombs along the road itself. The ancient cutting is again traceable just after the tenth kilomètre.

On the S. side of the road here, close to the Casale Tor Angela, is a brick tomb of two chambers, sunk so that the crown of the arches is just at the ground level. The second chamber, which is square, with three large oblong niches, was probably open in the centre. The barrel vaulting of the niches is very finely decorated with stucco ornamentation, arranged in hexagons and half hexagons. In the hexagons are sometimes oblong tablets. Within the large niches are smaller ones, plain, and quite low (see plan, Fig. 3).

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[1] Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 17) notes the discovery of a fine sarcophagus near Tor Angela not long before he wrote, about 1820.

Above the door of the Casale itself is a fragment of a relief apparently representing a battle of the Amazons. In the centre is a male torso, to the left a female draped figure falling, on the right a third on horseback. The workmanship is good, though the relief itself is much damaged.

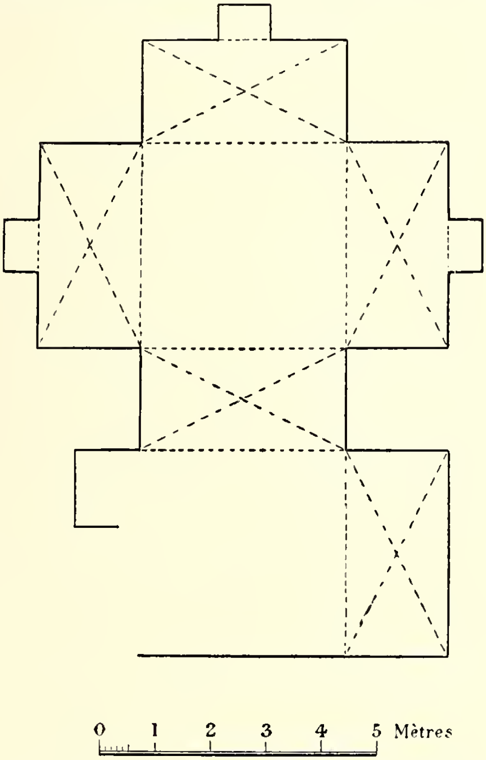

Fig. 3.—Plan of Tomb near Casale tor Angela.

The fountain E. of the Casale, in the side of the hill, which bears the name of Fontanile della Mezzaluna from its shape, is fed by two ancient *cuniculi*, or channels cut in the rock, 1·80 m. high and 50 cm. wide. A fine female head in marble, in a decorative style, representing some divinity, is built into the fountain. Another fountain further E., on the right bank of the Fosso di Tor Agnola, is also supplied from an ancient cuniculus which leads apparently to extensive cuttings in the rock.

On the left of the road, a little way before the eleventh kilomètre is reached, is a large tomb—a circular mound, within which is a round chamber approached by a passage in opus reticulatum. There are also several brick fragments about, one of which bears the rectangular stamp (unpublished hitherto)

SVAVISGPMET
TETTIAESEF

The whole stamp measures only ·069 m. × ·021 m., and is remarkably small.

On the right of the road, about halfway up the hill, a late tomb formed of tiles, one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1464*a*, was discovered in March 1900. On the top of the hill, and to the S. of the eleventh kilomètre stone, are traces of a large villa.

In *Not. Scav.* 1883, 170 is recorded the discovery, 200 m. beyond the eleventh kilomètre, and 60 m. from the edge of the road on the N. side, of an ancient press for oil or wine, consisting of two huge blocks 2·10 × 2·20 m., with a double concentric circular channel and another for an outlet, and two troughs of sarcophagus shape 2 m. long by 35 cm. wide. The whole apparatus had been destroyed in ancient times, for the two large blocks had been turned upside down and a pavement of opus spicatum built upon them.

About 200 m. further on the same side, close to the road, is a water reservoir or *piscina*, consisting of a single chamber 10½ by 4½ paces inside, lined with hard cement, strengthened on the outside by buttresses at each angle and in the centre of each wall. It is constructed of blocks of tufa, of the size and shape of modern bricks, with two bands of five baked bricks each running right through, one 1·10 m. above ground, the other 1·30 m. above that. Further from the road are the remains of a mediaeval structure on an ancient site.

On the opposite side of the road, in a field, a large white marble cornice, which still lies there, was recently found. The breadth of the block is (not including the cornice) 62 cm., its present length (part was broken off in attempting to lift it) 1·36 m. The depth of the cornice at the top is 31 cm.

Further S.E. (almost due S. of the twelfth kilomètre stone) is a large *piscina*, single chambered, of selce concrete, without buttresses, which, owing to the strength of the selce concrete, are not required, but with its walls becoming slightly thinner after about six feet above ground.

To the S. of this are remains of a villa rustica in opus quadratum of tufa; in one place is a floor, for a wine or oil press perhaps, formed of three blocks of tufa placed side by side, with a slightly raised edge round them.

The excavations made by Niccola la Piccola in 1775 in the Tenuta di Salone, quarto di Prato Bagnato, on the right of the road, resulted in the discovery of the Aphrodite of the Gabinetto delle Maschere in the Vatican (Visconti, *Mus. Pio. Clem.* i. 10, Helbig, *Führer*, i. no. 258) and of the following inscriptions, *C.I.L.* vi. 325, 1607, 8972, (*Bull. Inst.* 1853, p. 49), 9954.

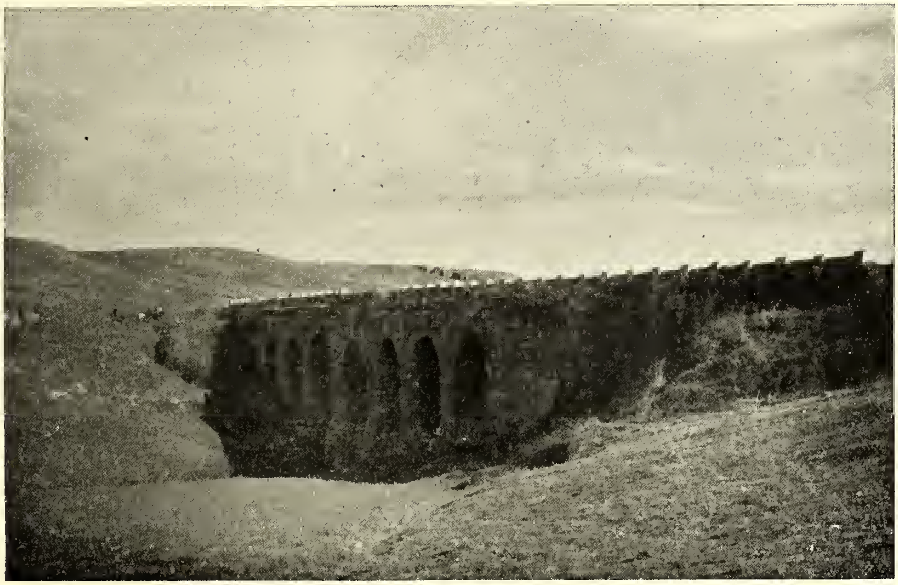

FIG. 4.—PONTE DI NONA, N. SIDE.

Just before the twelfth kilomètre stone stands the eighth milestone of the modern road, erected by Innocent XIII. This corresponds fairly exactly to the ninth mile of the ancient road: the bridge over the ravine just beyond is therefore called Ponte di Nona. It is by far the finest road bridge in the neighbourhood of Rome. Rossini (*Antichità Romane*, vol. ii.) gives a very fine view of the north side, which is also shown in Fig. 4. Canina (*Edifizi*, v. 90, vi. tav. 108) gives plans from measurements taken when it was restored under his own direction. See also Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 590. The total length is about 72 m., the greatest height 16 m. There are seven arches, each with a span of about 6 m. The whole bridge is slightly askew. The roadway, the pavement of which, perfect in Nibby's time, has now been removed, was 6·25 m. wide; the width of the bridge at the top is 10·20 m. The thickness of the piers of the four central arches diminishes gradually towards the top: this is especially noticeable on the N. side. The whole bridge is faced with lapis Gabinus (sperone) except the bridge heads, which are constructed of red tufa quarried very likely on the spot. There are traces of quarrying at the E. end of the bridge, and along the E. side of the valley to the S. The keystones of the arches are of travertine. The core of the bridge is of concrete. Projecting corbels have been placed at the spring of the arches to facilitate repairs.

The central arch encloses a smaller one, of the same span, but only 4·50 m. in height. This was the earlier single arched bridge; all that was really needed for the passage of the stream. Later on, however, in order to obviate the necessity of descending into the valley and ascending again on the other side, the splendid viaduct, which still carries the road at a high level above the ravine, was constructed.

The magnificence of the bridge seems to indicate that the district to which it immediately leads was in Roman times of a certain importance. This conjecture is to some extent borne out by the ancient remains described in the following section.

The fountain half a mile to the N. of the bridge in the valley has close to it an ancient rock-cut channel, either a drain or for water supply, two feet wide. Further along the valley, on the hill on the E. side, are the scanty remains of a villa.

IV.—FROM PONTE DI NONA TO OSTERIA DELL' OSA

(from the Ninth to the Eleventh Milestone).

On the hill just beyond the bridge, on the N. side of the road, are some foundations of large blocks of tufa, in a line running N.E. by E: a little further E. are two more large blocks, and further again, on the N.E. slope of the hill, above a small valley which falls into the larger ravine of the Fosso di Ponte di Nona, there is a large deposit of votive objects in terra-cotta. They have been much destroyed by the ploughing up of the field, but we found many fairly perfect specimens of almost all parts of the human body—though not of the internal organs—faces, hands, feet, legs, bodies, eyes (in the form of small flat discs with a representation of the eye on the upper side), two specimens of the membrum virile, and fragments of drapery belonging to complete figures. In some cases the terra-cottas still show traces of colour. The representation is, as a rule, more or less life-size, though parts of statuettes also occur. We also found some small figures of cows and horses. These votive objects are similar to those which occur in the well-known deposit at Veii (Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 64; *Not. Scavi*, 1889, pp. 30, 63) and are fairly well executed.

We also found many fragments of black glazed Etrusco-Campanian pottery, one of which has part of a seated draped figure in relief, holding a staff, and a few letters of an inscription upon it. It seems to read (*n*)AIVIOS or ALVIOS (Fig. 5).

This fragment was submitted to Professor Pasqui, of the Government Department of Antiquities, who attributed it to the period 250–200 B.C. Another (the bottom of a vessel) has three rosettes and a T in relief stamped upon it, with another character (a T ?) scratched on the outside. A third fragment has a decorative pattern painted in ochre upon the glaze. The presence of this extensive deposit of ex-votos points unmistakably to the existence of a temple on this hill, occupying a conspicuous position above the great bridge. The ex-votos were hung up on the walls of the cella of the temple, precisely as votive hearts, &c., are hung up in Italian churches at the present day; and, when there was no more space for new offerings, the old were removed to make way for them, and thrown outside the temple.

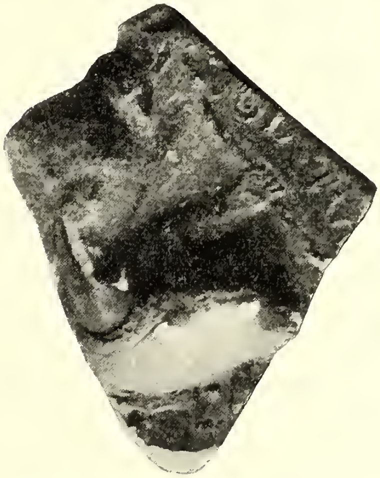

FIG. 5.—FRAGMENT OF POTTERY FROM TEMPLE NEAR PONTE DI NONA (exact size).

The tufa foundations described may well be connected with the temple itself, but nothing can be determined on this point without an excavation of the site.

To the S.E. of this deposit of ex-votos are more worked stone blocks lying in the field, one of which is the half of an altar of the primitive type exemplified in the altars of Verminus (*Bull. Com.* 1876, 24, Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 52) and of Veiovis (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2387, found at Bovillae in 1826), the top measuring 0·595 by 0·765 m.[1]

On the south side of this hill, overlooking the road, there is a regular necropolis of tombs in opus quadratum and brickwork. Among the bricks I found the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 188, 652 (of 123–141 A.D.) and another (fragmentary) of 134 A.D. on a roof-tile. The presence of a considerable amount of painted plaster and marble mosaic cubes may point to the existence of a villa here also.

Still on the N. side of the modern road, just at the thirteenth kilomètre stone, is a large group of tombs in opus quadratum of tufa and peperino. They fall into two lines, between which, just N. of its present course, the road ran.[2] Most of them are small chambers 3 or 4 mètres square: sometimes two are placed side by side. At the W. end of the group is one, formed of a mass of concrete faced with blocks of peperino, the ends of which tail into the concrete mass. At the E. end of the group is an *ustrinum* about 20 mètres square, which, in so far as its plan goes, is perfect. Several of the coping blocks of its ringwall, rounded at the top, lie about. The whole necropolis will probably soon fall a prey to the destruction caused by the cultivation of the fields.

After passing the *ustrinum* the pavement of the ancient road is seen crossing a ditch, still to the N. of the modern road. On each side blocks of tufa about 2 feet in thickness, which seem to be the *crepidines* or kerbstones, still exist, and give the width of the road as 9·20 m. (?), no less than double its width further on. About 200 yards further is another large group of tombs in opus quadratum, between which the road ran. It soon, however, falls into the present line again, as shortly before reaching the fourteenth kilomètre five small tombs in opus quadratum are seen just on the S. side of the present line. Some 500 yards S. of these is a tomb mound and many paving stones, belonging to the road mentioned on p. 176.

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[1] Other examples of altars of this type are mentioned in *Bull. Com.* 1897, 164.

[2] It is in my opinion quite certain that the ancient road ascended almost straight from Ponte di Nona, not curving, as the modern road does, round the hill at the E. end of the bridge.

Opposite to these tombs a track runs off N.N.W. About 250 yards after it leaves the highroad, an ancient road, the pavement of which can be clearly distinguished (the width is not more than 3·60 m.), diverges from it N.E. by N. and runs for three or four hundred yards up to a large "capanna" (shepherds' hut). Here it suddenly disappears, and there are no further traces of paving stones, or even of the *agger* of the road, except two tufa blocks running N. and S. just behind the capanna, which may possibly belong to one of its crepidines.

The main track, however, continues in its former direction and soon reaches a bank, along which it runs: and, as the bank contains many paving stones, some apparently *in situ*, it seems clear that this too is an ancient road. The ruin some way to the W. is a water reservoir in selce concrete, without buttresses, measuring roughly 40 by 20 feet. This line after about 1200 m. from the highroad falls into that of a modern field-wall, which is, however, full of ancient paving stones: and it is noteworthy that in the Campagna the modern boundaries are frequently neither more nor less than the lines of ancient roads, all traces of which would otherwise have perished. The road probably continued along this line for some way, and then descended into the valley to the W. of it, somewhere opposite the Casale Benzone: the precise point is doubtful, for paving stones and fragments of brick lie all about on the slope of the hill. To the N.E. of and below the Casale is the meeting point of another road with the Via Collatina, into which this one, coming along the valley, would fall (p. 145).

Somewhere in this district, we are told, "in the tenuta of Tor Sapienza, about two miles from Gabii"—on the N. side of the road, therefore, and about ten miles from Rome, was found the bust of Geta, published by Guattani, *Memorie enciclopediche per l'anno* 1817, p. 129, tav. xx.

Returning to the highroad, almost due S. of the fourteenth kilomètre stone is a large tomb mound, with fragments of marble scattered about it. The ancient road is at this point again slightly to the N. of the modern, as is shown, not only by the position of the tombs, but by the presence of paving stones and of the *agger* of the road itself.

At this point, just to the W. of a villa by the high road, another road must have diverged almost due N.; for at a distance of about 130 yards there are two tombs in opus quadratum, one of which measures 3·70 m. square inside, the blocks that form its walls being 59 cm. thick. The base moulding is still well preserved. Lying loose in the field is a tombstone of the type which appears in the cemetery of the Legio II. Parthica at Albano, and is not uncommon in the Campagna. It is about six feet in length and two in height and width, rounded at the top, with a tablet on one side for the inscription. Further on are some heaps of paving stones extracted from the spot in the course of ploughing, and other remains of tombs, among which is a large gutter cut in three blocks of tufa 62 cm. wide, and having a total length of 4·35 m. The gutter, which is 30 cm. wide, turns at right angles at each end: probably it ran round the outside of one of these small square tombs. After this point the road disappears. It is pointing straight for the capanna behind which the road mentioned on p. 175 above is lost.

Close to the highroad, on the N., about 300 m. further on, is a brick tomb in two stories; the lower chamber is square, and has a cinerary urn (like that of a columbarium) placed under the spring of each arch of the vaulting of the side niches, so that in each corner pillar there are two urns built into the brickwork. Just after the fifteenth kilomètre the modern road descends steeply in a curve. The ancient road followed a straight course.

The Osteria dell' Osa marks the most important meeting point of by-roads along the whole course of the Via Praenestina. There are, in the first place, two deverticula coming from the Via Labicana. The first, as already stated (p. 168), leaves it a little beyond the eighth mile and runs almost straight in a N.E. direction to the Osa. That this road is ancient is shown by its directness of line, by the cuttings which take it through the hills, by the paving stones which exist (though not *in situ*) along its course, and by the remains of ancient buildings which lie along it. Fabretti (*De Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, Diss. i. tab. i.) apparently intends to indicate this road when he marks "Via Vetus" to the S.W. of the Osteria dell' Osa, without giving its direction.

The second road is a continuation of the Via Cavona, the modern name of the road constructed by M. Valerius Messala Corvinus in order to facilitate communication between the Via Appia (which it leaves at the Osteria delle Frattochie, just below Bovillae) and the roads to the N.E. of it. Cf. Tibullus, i. 7, 57: *Nec taceant monumenta viae quam Tuscula tellus, candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare.* It crosses the Via Latina at the tenth (ancient) mile at the Casale Ciampino, the Via Tuscolana at the Fonte Vermicino, just before it commences its steep ascent to Frascati, the Via Labicana a little way beyond the catacombs of St. Zoticus, and the modern Via Casilina at the Osteria del Finocchio. So far it has been an important artery of communication, as is indicated by the number of ancient roads joining and diverging from it, and by the large quantity of villas and water reservoirs that are to be seen on each side of it. Between the Osteria del Finocchio and the Osteria dell' Osa, however, where the road runs nearly due N., there is not a single trace of antiquity, whereas the previous part of the road had preserved much of its pavement intact until a few years ago, and the stones may even now be seen built into the walls on each side. It is impossible to believe, however, that the road did not go beyond the Osteria del Finocchio, especially as at the Osa we find its direction continued by two other roads, one on each side of the Osa valley. The absence of any traces of antiquity is at the best a merely negative argument, and, in view of the continual destruction of ancient monuments, not a very strong one. It may be noted that Fabretti (*l. c.*), Ameti, and Cingolani mark the road as ancient.

A third ancient road ran above the W. bank of the Osa stream, following the line of a modern track, and passing two or three villas, to Collatia (p. 146). Whether it ever crossed the Anio to join the Via Tiburtina is doubtful. Another far more ancient road ran along the E. bank of the Osa to Collatia also (p. 149).

A fifth ancient road is that now represented by the modern Via di Poli, which runs to Le Cappannelle below Corcolle, another important road centre of this district. A tomb may be traced on its W. edge just beyond the seventeenth kilomètre. In *Not. Scav.* 1885, 426, traces of ancient pavement are spoken of as existing at the nineteenth kilomètre; they had been noticed long before by Nibby[1] (*Schede*, iii. 28), but are now no longer visible. Close to the Casale Granaraccio, two kilomètres further on, are the remains of a tomb, and in the cutting before the descent to Le Cappannelle, which has been widened and deepened in modern times, there are on the left several paving stones certainly *in situ* and traces of tombs also, so that the antiquity of the road cannot be doubted. About a mile almost due N. of the seventeenth kilomètre stone on this road, by a "capanna" at a point marked 72 m. above sea-level on the staff map (sheet marked Colonna 1 : 25,000), there has recently been discovered a remarkable grotto excavated in the rock. A short description of it has been given by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.*, 1899, 40.[1] Above ground are the scanty remains of an extensive villa. Descending through a lighthole by a ladder, a long lofty passage, about 3 feet wide and quite 20 feet high, is entered: the floor of it descends steeply (the flight of steps which probably exists is covered with débris) and the roof, which is formed by the rock itself, except at the upper end, where the passage is covered by converging tiles, drops in level at intervals to correspond. The ancient entrance cannot have been far beyond the lighthole, as on one side of the passage there is a cutting in the rock for a door (?), while the other side begins to be formed by brickwork. At present the passage descends in a N.W. by N. direction for 20 m., and then suddenly decreases to 1·80 m. in height. Above the opening is a painting about 60 cm. wide by 1·30 m. high, on a white ground (Fig. 6). Hercules is represented seated upon his lionskin on a rock with his club by his left side, and a cup in his right hand. He is nude, with blue drapery lying over his thighs, and crowned with a garland, and his skin is represented as much bronzed. He seems to be offering the cup to a Cupid higher up on the left, crowned with flowers, with blue draperies flying behind him and bearing a wreath. Immediately above Hercules is a winged Victory, with an upper garment of blue, and an under garment of brown, also crowned with flowers, and holding a garland in front of her with both hands. Above is an eight-pointed star, black and yellow.[2] The painting is in fairly good, free style; the field is surrounded by a black line. The surface of the rock is very uneven, and has not been smoothed before being stuccoed.

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[1] The reference is to a quantity of MS. notes, containing Nibby's diaries of excursions in the Campagna, which I purchased at the sale of the library of Count Virginio Vespignani in 1900.

Over the arch itself are traces of painting. Beyond this picture the passage (which has quite recently been cleared out) continues for 41 m., with a height of about 1·80 and a width of about 0·90, and then ends abruptly. The grotto must be the shrine of some secret worship, or at least of some cult practised by preference underground. The prevalence of such cults in this district is illustrated by the following funeral inscription, which I copied near the Osteria dell' Osa (published in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 41 from my copy). It is cut on a slab of white marble 35 × 45 × 3 cm. The letters are 35 mm. high in the first three lines, 25 in the last four,

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[1] See also the same author's *New Tales of Old Rome*, p. 192.

[2] This star is not shown in the engraving, as it did not appear in the photographs from which this was made.

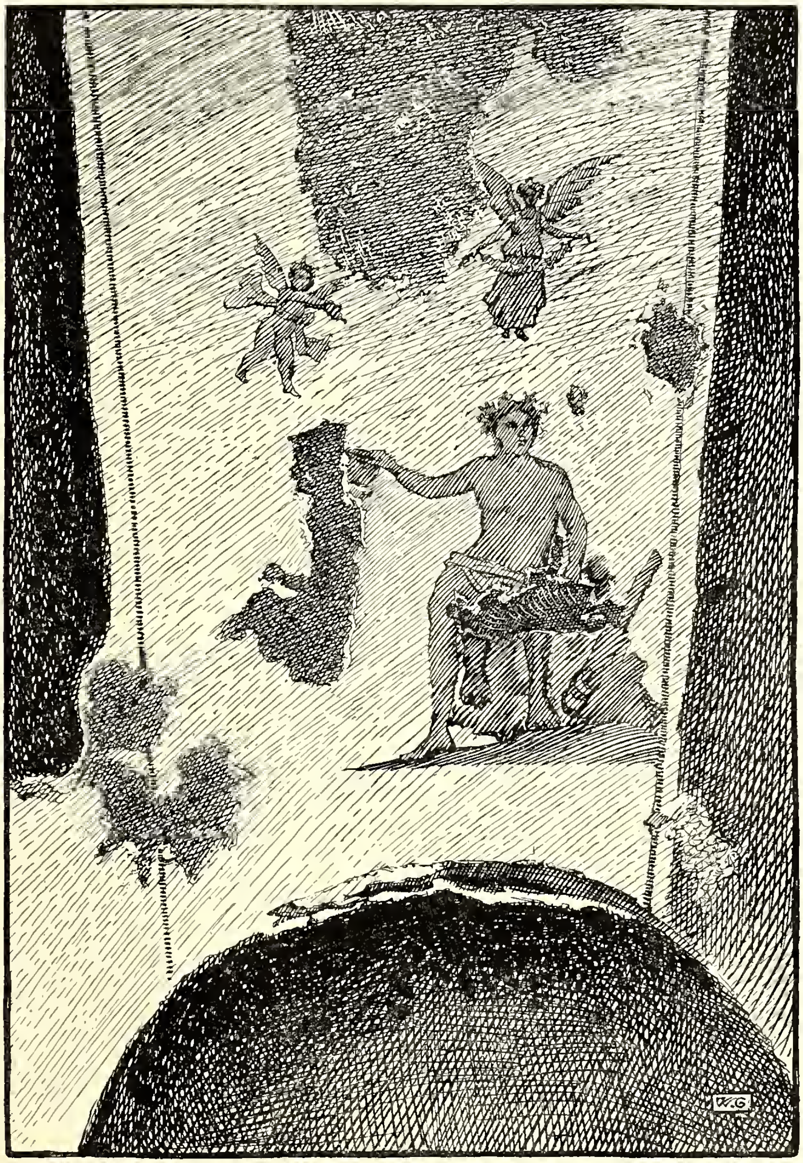

FIG. 6.—PAINTING IN THE "GROTTA DI SAPONARA."

and their style is that of the second or third century. It had, however, been used in a later burial, and was placed, with the letters downwards, under the head of a corpse. The letters themselves are still filled with cement.

·D· ❦ ·M·
VERVS SACERDOS
LIBERI PATRIS·ITEM·SOLIS IN
VICTI·DOMVM AETERNAM·
BAEBIAE·BERAE MATRI·ET·BAEBIAE
sic TROFIMENI SORORI·ET·PACCIAE SAL
sic SAL·VISTIAE CONIVGI·SE VIVO SVIS
sic ET POSTERISQVE AEORVM·FECIT·

Between Ponte di Nona and the Osteria dell' Osa (no further details are given) was found an altar dedicated to Hercules (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2789 = vi. 341), and a fragment of a slab bearing a dedication to a deity whose name has perished (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2792).

V.—GABII AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Just after the Osteria dell' Osa the ancient Via Praenestina leaves the modern carriage road (which, as has been said, follows the line of an ancient one) on the left. In *Not. Scavi*, 1889, 83, a description is given of the discoveries made when the drainage channel of the (now dry) lake of Gabii was enlarged. At a distance of 64·60 m. from the bridge of the modern road over this small stream, and at a depth of 4·50 m. below the present surface of the ground, was found a tree trunk 3 m. long by 85 cm. wide, hollowed out and used as a sarcophagus (now preserved in the Museum of the Villa Papa Giulio). Within were the remains of the skeleton, and some traces of ivory and amber. The tree trunk was placed in a rectangular ditch cut in the rock, only about half as deep as the diameter of the tree trunk, and leaving a space 25 cm. wide at the sides, and 80 cm. wide at the end where the feet of the dead man lay. In the space at the end various pieces of ancient hand-made bucchero, two Chalcidic vases with faint geometric ornamentation, and a bronze cup were found. Some of the pieces of bucchero resembled those of the most ancient portion of the Esquiline necropolis, and of the tombs "a fossa" of the Faliscan cemeteries. There was also a large amphora of whitish earth, certainly not of local workmanship. The pottery and the tree trunk were covered with fine earth, and then with stones to the depth of 80 cm.

Twenty-one mètres further from the modern road the ancient Via Praenestina appeared, its section being found in the cutting. Its precise direction is, unfortunately, not specified in this account, but clearly it must have made a fairly sharp turn here.[1] For, 180 mètres further up the overflow channel of the lake, on its N.E. bank, where it emerges from a rock-cut tunnel, there is visible a wall of two courses of two-foot blocks of tufa, running, for a length of 15 m. at the least, 40° E of S. This is, apparently, the supporting wall of the road on its S.W. side. Shortly afterwards, about 100 yards from the Casetta del Pescatore, the N. *margo* of the ancient road begins to appear in the modern mule path, running 7° S. of E.; after 70 paces the road turns S.E. by E. and continues to run in this direction past the Casetta del Pescatore, where the basin of the Lake of Gabii first comes into view. Here the pavement is 4·30 m. (14½ feet) wide between the *crepidines*, which are of oblong blocks of selce with round masses at intervals of from 3·50 to 4 m. The reasons for these sharp turns in the ancient road cannot be determined with certainty. It is possible that they were due to a desire to cross the Osa stream at right angles and to the difficulties of dealing with the *emissarium* of the lake.

As to the antiquity of the lake itself there is considerable controversy. It is mentioned by no classical author, and is first alluded to in the Acts of St. Primitivus (*Acta SS.* Jun. T. ii. 148). Kircher supposed it to be Lake Regillus, but this is, for many reasons, impossible (see *Rendiconti dell' Acc. dei Lincei*, 1898, pp. 114, 115, *Classical Review*, 1898, 470). Canina (*Edifizi*, v. p. 91 note 10) states that, in the excavation of a new emissarium under his supervision in 1838[2] traces of the ancient one were discovered, which proved that in ancient times no lake was allowed to exist; only in the Middle Ages, when the emissarium became choked, was the centre of the basin converted into a lake. Further, he remarks that the baths of Gabii could never have become celebrated had the stagnant lake been there to spread unhealthiness.[1] Fea (*Gabio*, p. 25) on the other hand, is inclined to suppose that the baths were taken in the lake itself. Neither of the arguments adduced by Canina is sufficient to prove his point; for the emissarium may perfectly well have served to keep the water of the lake at a certain level without necessarily being intended to exhaust it altogether: in fact, as the lake was certainly fed by springs, which are still in existence, it must have been necessary to provide an overflow channel. But without further particulars it is not easy to judge what is the value of his opinion. The basin itself is clearly an extinct crater. Kiepert, in his map of Latium, calls it "lacus novicius," relying presumably on Canina.

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[1] In January 1902 I was able, after a good deal of rain had fallen, to find the point at which the Via Praenestina crosses the Osa stream itself, a little way further W. This is 67·80 m. to the S. of the bridge of the modern highroad, but there are no indications of the existence of a bridge on the ancient road, and the course of the stream has very likely changed. One or two pavingstones are to be seen in each bank of the stream, and remains of tombs on the S. side of the road. It was apparently running 10° S. of E.

[2] Cf. *Ann. Inst.* 1840, 33.

After the Casa del Pescatore, on the right, is a square tomb of rough opus incertum on a brick base 4·30 m. wide. Near the spring of the barrel vault of the interior are four small niches 29 cm. wide with a small semicircular arch above each. Shortly after passing it is seen the line of the deverticulum mentioned by Fea (*Gabio*, p. 10)[2] as diverging at this point, and running across the plain of Pantano to join the Via Labicana: in his time it was partly paved, but now all traces of pavement have disappeared, though its line may be clearly seen in the field. A little way beyond again is a mound (point 88 on the map) which may have been a tomb (Nibby, *Analisi* ii. 83), but is more likely to be a heap of quarry rubbish.

The road now skirts the S. bank of the lake running upon a shelf cut in the rock (sperone), and soon passes below the famous temple (Fig. 7), which, on the strength of Virgil's (*Aen.* vii. 682) *arva Gabinae Iunonis* (cf. Sil. Ital. xii. 537: *Iunonis tecta Gabinae*), has generally been called the temple of Juno, though Canina[3] prefers to attribute it to Apollo, quoting Livy xli. 16: *Gabiis aedem Apollinis et privata aedificia complura .... de caelo tacta*, and remarking also that it faces E. (really S.E.). It was peripteral, without portico (according to Canina). As to the style of the columns there is considerable question. Canina follows Ciampini (*Vetera Monumenta*, i. p. 4 tab. i.) who says: *sicuti et ante ingressum duas columnas ordinis Corinthii ex illorum fragmentis, quae in proximo reperta sunt, olim stetisse censemus.* Visconti, on the other hand, thought the base and imoscape Doric (*Mon. Gabini*, tav. i. B 1 and p. 17); while Gell (*Environs of*

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[1] In these same works (according to *Bull. Inst.* 1845, 53) the conduit which conveyed the water to the baths was actually discovered.

[2] Compare, however, p. 185, n. 1.

[3] *Edifizi*, v. p. 92: cf. vi. tav. 110 for plan.

Rome, p. 265) and Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 85) believed the decorations to be Ionic. From Visconti's drawing it would seem that there was a mixture of styles. The base looks Doric, while the fluting does not (cf. Abeken, *Ann. Inst.*, 1840, p. 31). The whole was constructed of blocks of Gabine stone (sperone), which was extensively used in Roman times (Strabo, v. 3. 10, p. 238),[1] originally covered with stucco, and now of a beautiful brown colour. The front and side walls are the thickness of a single block (0·585–0·595 m.) and 14 courses are preserved, each 0·55–0·595 m. in height, giving a total height (as at present existing) of 28 feet. The blocks are of various lengths. The whole cella[2] measures 13·54 by 8·38 m. inside: the doorway is 2·38 m. wide. Spurwalls project 2·14 m. on each side of the back wall, which is 1·15 m. thick. The floor was paved with white mosaic of "palombino"[3] (now almost completely destroyed), assigned by those

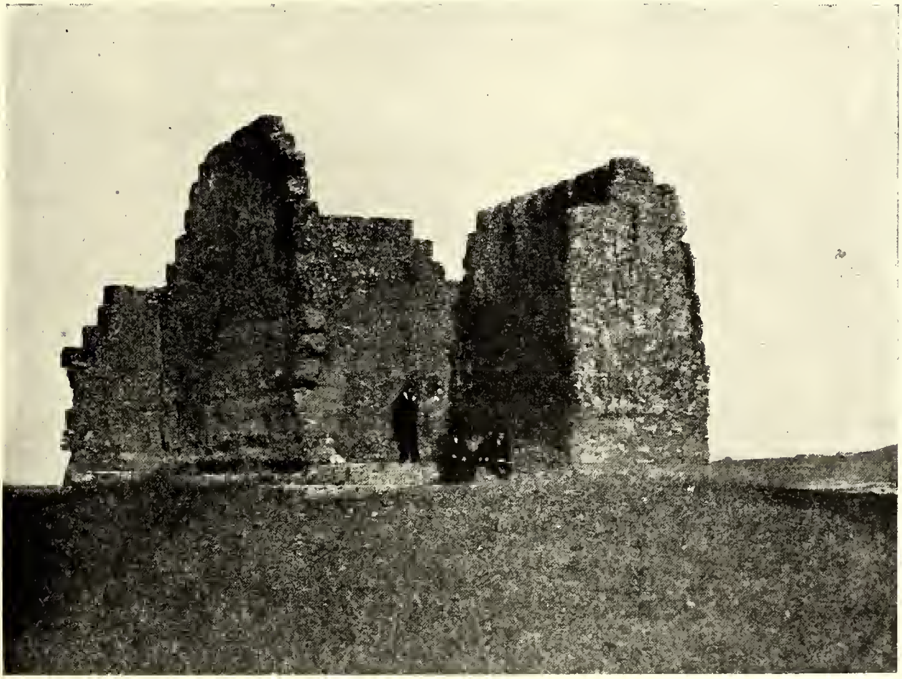

FIG. 7.—THE TEMPLE AT GABII.

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[1] See also Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 43. 4.

[2] See plan, Fig. 8.

[3] A white marble from Asia Minor (marmor coralliticum, Plin. *H.N.* xxxvi. 62).

who saw it to the time of Hadrian: the tesserae are 5 to 10 mm. square by 15 mm. deep, and not very carefully set. At a distance of 1·87 m. from

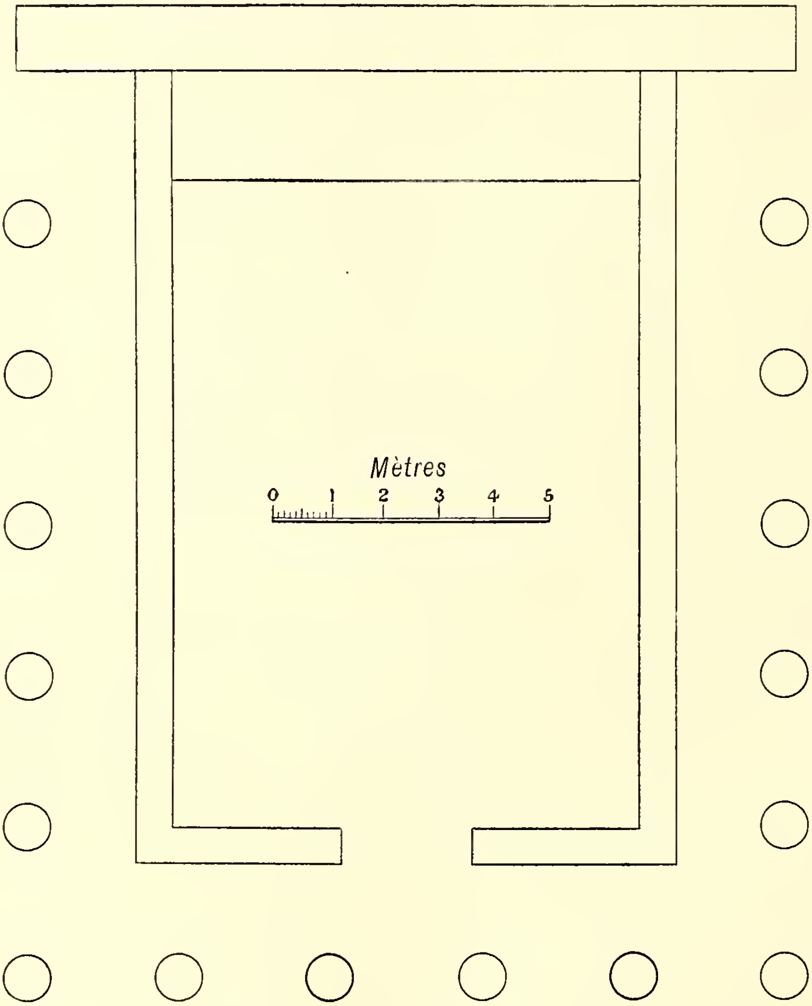

FIG. 8.—PLAN OF TEMPLE, GABII.

the back wall of the cella is a stone ledge in which Nibby and Abeken were able to trace holes, intended to support a railing with three entrance spaces, which divided the cella from the sacrarium proper, the latter being at a slightly higher level. On the outside of the back wall is seen the fine simple podium moulding (Fig. 9).

The diameter of a drum of one of the columns is 0·78 m.: the flutings are 0·06 in depth, and ·14 from centre to centre. There were probably six in front of the temple and six on each side, but none were found *in situ*, and the stylobate has disappeared.

The temple was surrounded on three sides by Doric colonnades (Visconti, *Monumenta Gabini*, tav. i. B. 2), the columns of which measured 0·42 in diameter. At the S.E. end (according to Visconti, p. 15 n. 38 and frontispiece: no traces of them now exist) a semi-circular flight of steps descended towards the highroad. The foundations of the chambers surrounding the colonnades are composed partly of blocks of stone 0·40 m. in width, and partly of the solid rock, which has been hewn in conformity with the plan.

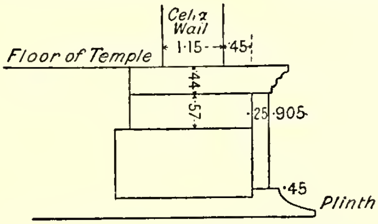

FIG. 9.—MOULDING OF PODIUM AT BACK OF TEMPLE, GABII.

The Forum lay a little way to the E. of the temple, between it and the church of St. Primitivus, on the N. side of the road, and fronting right upon it. No traces of it now remain above ground, but the site is fixed by the fact that here alone does the boundary line of the Borghese property cross the road, so as to include a narrow strip on the N. side.[1] A plan (reproduced in Fig. 10) is given by Visconti (*Monumenti Gabini*, tav. i. Fig. C). The temple lies beyond the line, in the Azzolini property (Visconti, *Monumenti Gabini*, p. 15, note 37; cf. Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 109). The N.W. end of the Forum was occupied by the Curia, which in Hadrian's honour received the name Aelia Augusta, and to the N.E. of it stood a small Augusteum[2] over the door of which was placed *C.I.L.* xiv. 2795, a dedication *in honorem memoriae domus Domitiae*[3] *Augustae Cn. Domiti Corbulonis*

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[1] It is curious that the boundary line should not follow the Via Praenestina here as elsewhere, and an examination of the fieldwall which marks it shows that it is full of pavingstones. Probably, therefore, a road ran E. from the temple, parallel at first to the highroad, then crossing it S. of the church, and then turning S.S.E. The existence of the section S. of the highroad is certain, for its pavement, 2·90 m. in width, with crepidines 45 cm. in width on each side, can still be followed for some way. We were told that on the further side of Pantano it could be seen E. of Monte Falcone going towards Colonna. It, or that mentioned p. 194, n. 2, may be the road spoken of by Fea (*Gabio*, 10) as crossing the basin of Pantano.

[2] Numbered respectively 2 and 3 in Visconti's plan.

[3] The wife of Domitian.

fil(*iae*). This is the view of Visconti. Canina (*Edifizi*, v. p. 92, n. 11) maintains that this small chamber cannot have been an Augusteum, which should have stood opposite to the Curia.

A little way to the E. of the Forum Canina marks baths in his plan. Of these no traces are now visible, and no description of them exists. We know that in the excavations of 1792 five lead water-pipes were found (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2815–2819=xv. 7832, 7861b, 7863, 7864, 7868a), the first of which bears the inscription: *Aurelius Alexander prox*(*imus*) *ab epistul*(*is*) *Lat*(*inis*); *Digitius fecit*, while the other four give merely the name of the maker of the pipe. Unfortunately, we have no details as to the precise locality of their discovery, so that we cannot tell what was the property of which Aurelius Alexander was the owner. Other buildings in the neighbourhood are spoken of vaguely by Visconti (*op. cit.* p. 19), in the ruins

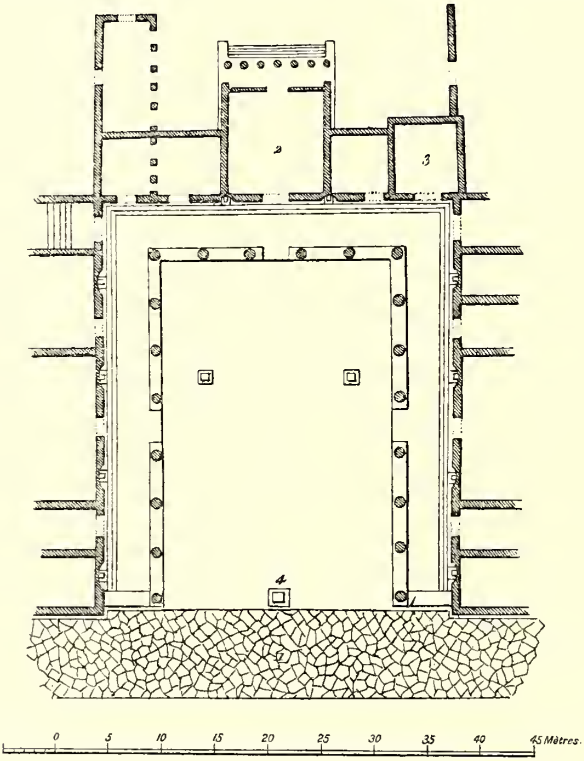

FIG. 10.—PLAN OF THE FORUM, GABII.

of one of which were found two fine columns of "alabastro rosso fiorito" which passed into the possession of Pope Pius VI., also a bust of Gordianus Pius III. (*op. cit.* p. 36 and tav. vi., No. 14), while in another building was found a mosaic pavement, which was bought by "Milord Harvey Conte di Bristol" (*op. cit.* p. 19, n. 48).

The Greek sepulchral inscription Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1319 was also found in the neighbourhood at the same period.

All these facts were elicited by the excavations of 1792, directed by Gavin Hamilton, and fully described, with plans and illustrations, by Visconti (*op. cit.*). Hamilton had already tried his fortune in this district in 1778, when a statue of Diana was found "at the Lago di Castillione amongst ruins of antient baths," according to a note under a drawing of the head of the statue in the Townley collection, now preserved in the Students' Room of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum (portfolio marked "Drawings from various antiquities"; shelf-mark 59 e). Before 1792, the site of Gabii, though sufficiently clearly indicated by the Itineraries and by ancient authors as lying half-way between Rome and Praeneste, at a distance of about 12 miles from Rome (Roma Via Praenestina—XII—Gabios—XI—Praeneste; cf. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 23, Strabo v. 3. 10. p. 238, Dionysius iv. 53: the last two of these writers estimate the distance at 100 stadia = 12½ miles, which is almost exactly correct), had not infrequently been misplaced, especially by the early topographers. The first propagator of error was Raphael Volaterranus, who (in his *Commentaria Urbana*, lib. vi. f. 77′, ed. 1506) placed it at Zagarolo, and was followed by Pirro Ligorio, while Biondo (*Italia Illustrata*, Basileae, 1559 pp. 320, 326) preferred Gallicano. Hamilton's discoveries, however, set the question at rest. The inscriptions and statues of the Forum were discovered in full number, and the former are of especial interest. Some of these objects still remain in the Villa Borghese, others were carried off to the Louvre, and have not returned to Italy. (Lanciani, *New Tales of old Rome*, p. 307.) A letter from Hamilton to Charles Townley (probably) giving some account of his excavations is published by A. H. Smith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxi. p. 318.

This spot, however, the centre of the life of Gabii under the Empire, did not, in all probability, fall within the compass of the ancient city. As is almost invariably the case, we find that the Roman town when founded was placed in a spot far less capable of defence, in order to obviate the possibility of a revolt of the inhabitants, while the citadel was dismantled and abandoned, probably coming, in the end, to serve as the site of some rich man's villa. Before proceeding to examine the remains of the ancient city, which stretched along the E. bank of the lake up to the tower of Castiglione, the probable site of the arx, it may be well to sketch briefly the history of Gabii, as far as it is known to us (a good general account is given in *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 278).

The part played by Gabii in the story of the expulsion of the Tarquins is well known. But the claim of Gabii to appear in the earliest history of Rome, rests not merely on this traditional history, but on other evidence ; the continuance of certain ancient usages, *e.g.* the adoption of the *cinctus Gabinus* by the consul when war was to be declared, the opposition between *ager Romanus* and *ager Gabinus* in the augural law (cf. Varro, *L.L.* v. 33), and the formulae of cursing for Gabii (Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 9. 13). We hear of an alliance with Rome (Paul : *ad Fest.* p. 56, Dionysius iv. 58)[1] made in the time of Tarquinius Superbus, which must have followed this period of hostility (Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 25), and coins struck by C. Antistius Vetus (iii. vir monetalis in B.C. 18) bear on their reverse the legend *foedus p(opuli) R(omani) qum Gabinis.* It is noteworthy that Dionysius (iv. 57) speaks of Antistius Petro as a chief of Gabii deceived by Sextus Tarquinius, so that the Antistii were a family, in all probability, of Gabine origin. It was so far only, as the earlier name Via Gabina (p. 128) shows, that the road originally led. The subsequent history of the town is, for a long period,[2] quite unknown : it is doubtful when it became Roman : and it is only in the first century B.C. that we find it again spoken of, as quite a small place, hardly able to send representatives to the Latin festival (Cic. *Pro Planc.* 9, 23). The poets, in fact, made it a byword for desolation. Horace, *Epist.* i. 11, 7, speaks of *Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis vicus.* Cf. also Propertius, v. 1. 34, Lucan, vii. 392, Juvenal, iii. 191, vi. 56, x. 100. But a truer picture of its condition is given by Dionysius, iv. 53 : *νῦν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικουμένη πᾶσα πλὴν ὅσα μέρη πανδοκεύεται κατὰ τὴν δίοδον* : in other words, it became simply a small place on the highroad, upon the very edge of which its Forum lay. This is borne out by the fact that the corporation of *tabernarii*, who elsewhere were not held in great consideration, received in a distribution of *sportulae* little less than the decuriones and Augustales, their share being eleven sesterces each, as against fifteen and thirteen respectively (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2793). At first sight, indeed, an examination of the inscriptions would lead one to suppose that in the first and second centuries of the empire the prosperity of Gabii was quite considerable. There was certainly some degree of well-being. From the time of Augustus (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2801), or at any rate of Tiberius (*ib.* 2802), to that of Elagabalus (*ib.* 2809), the town enjoyed a municipal organization. Public works and games are spoken of; the curia was adorned with a considerable number of statues of members of the imperial house, and Hadrian appears in the inscriptions as a special benefactor, the Curia being called after him Aelia Augusta. Further, we learn from Horace (*Epist.* i. 15, 9) and Juvenal (*ll. cc.*) that the baths of Gabii were well known in their day.

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[1] According to Dionysius, the text of the treaty, written on a bullock's skin, was preserved to his day in the temple of Semo Sancus on the Quirinal. Cf. Mommsen, i. 280.

[2] Its mention in the treatise *De Coloniis* as *muro ducta colonia* has not, in view of the character of that treatise, any historical value (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 278 n. 5).

This prosperity, however, was probably to some extent fictitious. The impression given by the inscriptions is about as far removed from the truth on one side, as the exaggerated language of the poets is on the other. Had the Forum of Tusculum been found, like that of Gabii, untouched by the spoiler's hand, the harvest would probably have been far richer there. Like Fidenae, to which Horace most aptly compares it, it became a small roadside village, and it was to its position that it owed, if not its existence, at any rate the greater part of such prosperity as it continued to enjoy.

We may now pass on to the remains of the primitive city. Proceeding northwards from the temple in the direction of the arx for about 500 yards, a mound is reached (perhaps a tumulus), upon which in March 1896 we found many fragments of black glazed (so-called Campanian) pottery. Just N. of this mound in 1885 Pasqui and Cozza observed two fragments of wall on each side of the rock-cut road, the probable site of a gate giving access to the city.

The blocks of stone, which are better cut than those of the rest of the walls, and smaller, measured 1·05 to 1·35 m. long and 45 cm. high, and the wall was 1·85 m. thick, with headers and stretchers in alternate courses. To the N. of this wall (the western portion of which is still preserved) a narrow neck has been formed by deep cuttings on each side. See *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1885, 424, and tav. xiii. where a description and plan (neither very complete) of the existing remains of Gabii and of its immediate neighbourhood are given.

From this point starts a remarkable ancient road, the prolongation of which ran along the S. edge of the crater through the Roman city, passing S. of the temple and joining the Via Praenestina just W. of it (cf. Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 109). The road itself runs almost due N. for about 450 m. It is a causeway, left untouched by quarrying operations, with a road track about two mètres wide and one deep cut in it, and formed the *cardo* of the city. A portion of it is shown in Fig. 11.

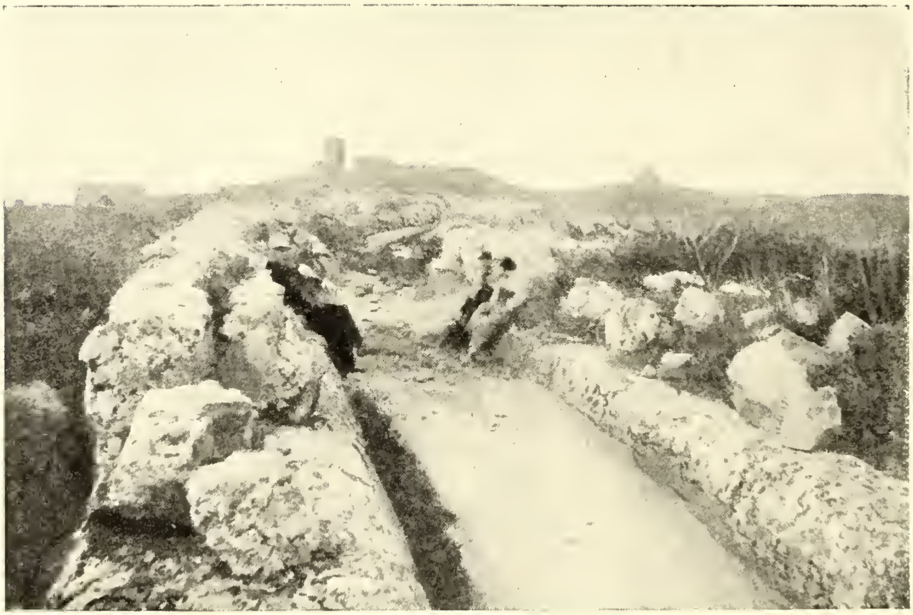

FIG. 11.—ANCIENT ROAD, GABII.

About 200 yards further on, below the road, upon a shelf left by quarrying operations, is a modern hut village (Fig. 12) which is, however, remarkable as a survival of the earliest type of settlement. See Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Fig. 45 (and p. 114), for the photograph of a precisely similar village on the W. side of the lake, on the left bank of the Osa stream. Close to this, high up on the bank of the lake, is a small fragment of the primitive city wall. Two courses of rough opus quadratum of local stone are preserved; the blocks in each course are about 33 cm. in height, and go up to 90 cm. in length. Further on is another longer fragment, the blocks of which only just appear above the surface of the ground; the line may in fact be traced along the edge of the lake for most of the way to the tower. Neither of these two pieces of wall is mentioned in the *Notizie degli Scavi.* Both of them are running N. by W.

To the N.W. of the tower is a large piece of wall (Fig. 13), an angle formed by two lines, running respectively 15° W. of N. for 8·60 m. and due W. for 9·95 m. The wall measures 1·70 m. in thickness.

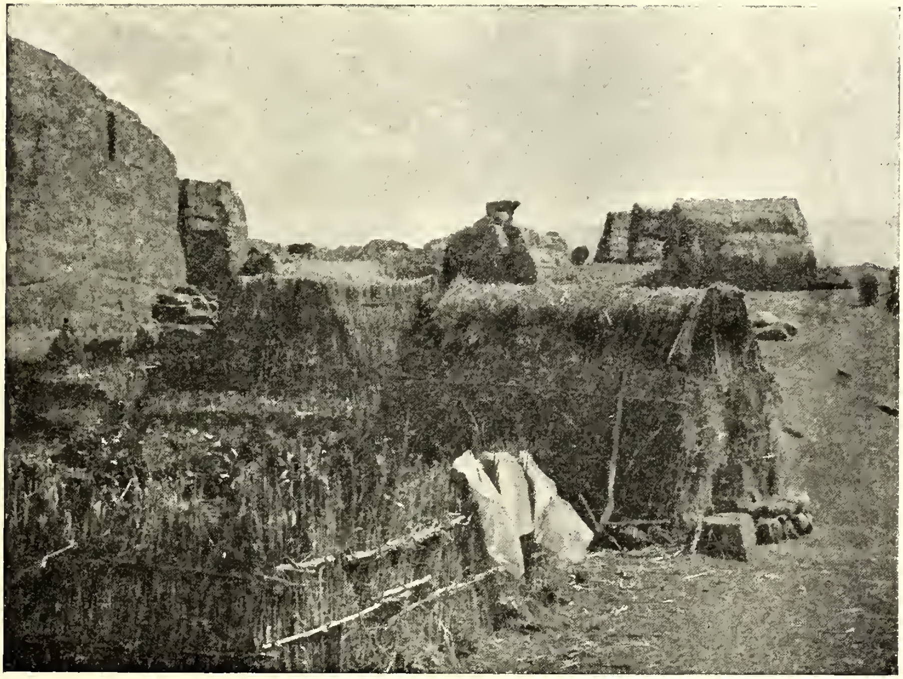

FIG. 12.—HUT VILLAGE, GABII.

There are three foundation courses, 0·55, 0·50, 0·63 high respectively. Then come four courses of good masonry, alternately of stretchers and headers. The blocks are 0·45 m. in height and breadth on the average, while the stretchers vary in length from 1·15 to 1·77 m. Most of the mortar between the blocks was inserted when the wall was rebuilt in the Middle Ages. Above these again comes the irregular masonry of a mediaeval restoration, the blocks of the old wall being used again, with a great deal of mortar laid between them. Fig. 13 shows the three different styles of masonry very clearly. This is the most conspicuous relic of the walls of Gabii, but in the article of the *Notizie* already cited it is not even mentioned. As the writers of that article can hardly have failed to see it, it must be assumed that they believed it to be of purely mediaeval origin.

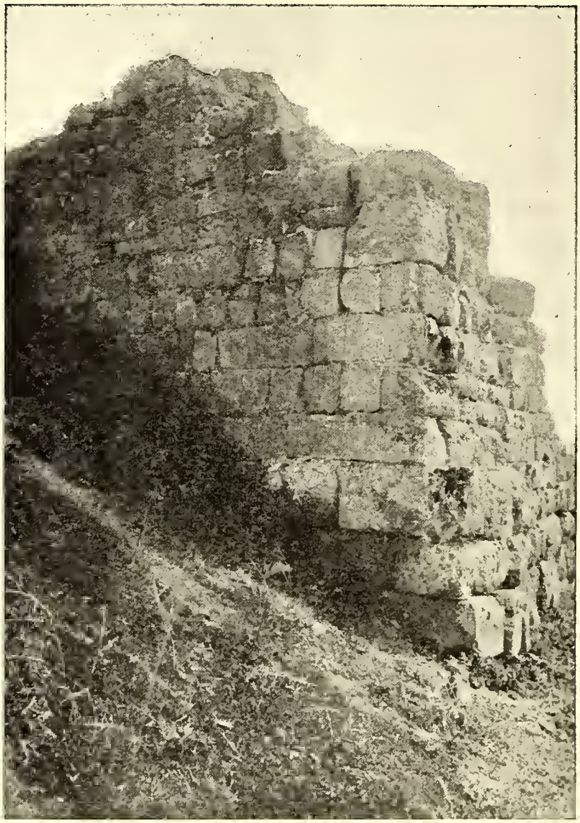

FIG. 13.—ANGLE OF CITY WALL, GABII.

The fortress of Castiglione, a view of which is given in Lanciani, *New Tales of old Rome*, p. 307, was of considerable importance in the Middle Ages: and it is impossible not to suppose that it was the arx of the ancient city. Though its height is not so noticeable from the immediate neighbourhood, it is surprising from how many distant points it is visible, and its position on the edge of the lake, when strengthened by the addition of walls, must have been a formidable one. On the E., too, the ground slopes away quite steeply, the large foundation blocks of the walls being visible at several points, and the rock has been cut perpendicularly by quarrying. On the S. there was nothing but the artificially narrowed neck by which the road entered, and the only weak side was the N., where, however, quarrying operations had done a good deal to minimise the danger. One of these quarries, 150 m. to the N. of the tower, was used in late Roman times as the lowest story of some building, being divided with walls and cemented. Close to this are two circular cisterns cut in the rock and cemented, the age of which is doubtful.

Further E., at the top of the slope down to the Fosso di San Giuliano, and starting from a point about 100 yards N.E. of the tower of Castiglione, from which it is separated by a quarry, there is a line of blocks of stone, evidently the worn foundation of a wall of opus quadratum, running in a N.N.W. direction for a distance of about 150 paces. This must belong to some large building outside the limits of the city, or possibly to a road. At a distance of about 175 m. to the E. of the tower, Pasqui and Cozza observed remains which they took to be those of the walls of the ancient Latin town. One side of the wall appeared just above ground, at the top of the slope down to the stream, the other was buried under a small hillock, possibly originated by quarry refuse. The blocks were of Gabine stone and measured 64 cm. by 1·37 m. and 60 cm. by 1·45 (*Not. Scav. l. c.* no. 1 on plan). They are a part of the foundations of the city walls on the E. side. Further traces are to be seen more to the S., running almost as far as the point at which the road described on p. 190 enters the city.

From this point, just to the N. of a large new barn, a road descends steeply to the valley to the E. and ascends on the opposite side, where its selce pavement is still well preserved. Whether after reaching the plateau it ran E. to join the road to Passerano, or whether it ran N. or S. along the edge of the cliff, is uncertain; two tombs at the top of the ascent, orientated N. and S., seem to favour the latter supposition, but it is not unlikely that a branch ran in either direction.

At the tower itself there are no traces of antiquity, except a large block of travertine measuring 935 by 605 mm. and 25 cm. thick, bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2820. As the text is not quite correctly given in the *Corpus*, the compilers of which do not seem to have known that the inscription was still in existence at Gabii, I repeat it here. It was found in the tenuta of Castiglione.

EX · CLOVLIVS · P · F
FAL · V · A · LXXXXV
LVIA · CLOVLI · V · A

[S]ex(tus) Cloulius P(ubli) f(ilius)
Fal(eria tribu) v(ixit) a(nnis) lxxxxv
[C]luia Clouli v(ixit) a(nnis) . . . .

The reading CLVIA is given by Amati. FVLVIA would be possible. The height of the letters in each line is respectively ·085, ·08, ·07 m.

Returning to the Via Praenestina, we may observe on the left, just to the E. of the temple, other remains of the Gabii of the Empire. At point 62 on the map is a building with an apse constructed of alternate bands (three of each) of brick and opus reticulatum. The brickwork (Fig. 14) is so extraordinarily bad, that it is hard to believe that it can belong to the second century, but the presence of opus reticulatum is decisive.

This was converted into the church of St. Primitivus by the addition of a nave and tower dating perhaps from the eleventh century (for this church see Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 86; Stevenson, *Cimitero di Zotico*, p. 55). Between this and the temple the ground is covered with bricks and marble, as if some building had been quite recently destroyed. Here we found a fragment of the brick-stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2353,[1] and another unpublished stamp, which seems to read thus MIVLIM/. The letters are only 1 cm. in height, and the height of the stamp is 15 mm. Between this church and the temple Cozza and Pasqui found fragments of rough pottery, belonging possibly to the primitive necropolis of Gabii, and a new fragment of the Fasti Gabini (*C.I.L.* xiv, 4232).

Soon after passing the church the road crosses the Fosso di San Giuliano, and ascends steeply on its opposite bank.[2] The pavement of the ancient road is visible just on the right of the present path.[1] At the foot of the hill, on the left, is a large oval tomb of opus reticulatum and quadratum. Just before the top of the hill is reached, a road diverges N.N.W. to a large villa of opus reticulatum on the edge of the hill, and apparently goes no further. Fifty yards further another road, almost as wide as the Praenestina itself—3·55 m. as against 4·10 m.—diverges N.N.E. along a field-wall, which is the boundary of the Agro Romano (this boundary line very frequently follows ancient roads) until it reaches, at point 74, a road running eastwards to Passerano, which perhaps started

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[1] This stamp dates from the beginning of the second century A.D.

[2] Before the ascent begins, a road, the pavement of which is still well preserved for the most part (though in places it is covered by soil, and in others the stones have been removed for field-walls), diverges to the S., and runs in the direction of the Aqua Alexandrina, which it should cross a little to the W. of its springs, if indeed it does not turn down to them. I have not yet followed its whole course, but could see no place where it could pass under the aqueduct. To the prolongation of this, or to that mentioned in the footnote to p. 185, Ficoroni (*Labico*, 30) probably

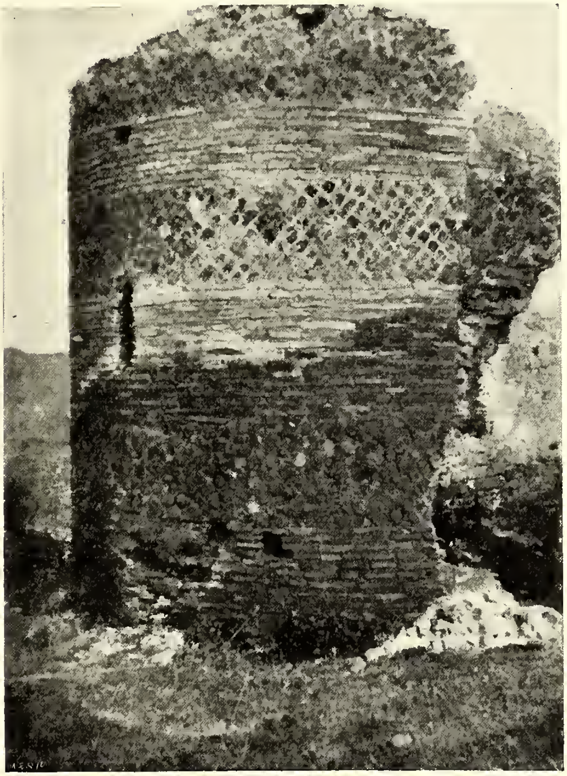

Fig. 14.—Apse of St. Primitivus, Gabii.

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refers—"al quale (*i.e.* all' acquedotto) al fine dov' è una scaturiggine d'acqua, l'antica selciata passa contigua." (He is propounding a theory that the ancient road from Osteria del Finocchio to S. Cesareo ran in an absolutely straight line to the N. of the present road.)

[1] A wall of opus quadratum 90 cm. in width can be traced on the S. side—it was intended to support the earth above the road.

from Castiglione. This road has long been known to topographers, and is marked in the maps of Ameti (1693) and Cingolani (1704). According to the former it started from this point only. Its pavement is preserved in places, and the cuttings made for it in the hill-sides clearly indicate its course. Along it may be seen several tombstones of the type described on p. 175.

On each side of the Via Praenestina at the top of the hill are a few tombs in opus quadratum, and on the south side in the field are wall foundations of rough polygonal work of selce, which in places alternates with opus quadratum. Their general direction is shown on the map, though it was impossible to indicate the full extent of the N. most wall, which runs close to and almost parallel to the highroad for over 200 m. Whether they are remains of a primitive settlement is very doubtful, for the site is not one adapted for defence, except on the W. side, and there the wall does not run along the edge of the cliff, but a few yards back from it. Their nature must be left uncertain—they may be connected with roads—perhaps the long wall parallel to the highroad may have belonged to the earliest Via Praenestina. Just N. of the S. line are the remains of a large villa rustica in opus quadratum. It is worthy of note that Fabretti, Ameti, Cingolani, all mark here "Gabiorum rudera" in their maps. It is clear that the remains existing in their time (at the end of the seventeenth century) must have been a good deal more extensive than these which are now visible. They resemble those on the east slope of the hill on which stands Torre Iacova (p. 251).

Before leaving Gabii it may be well to give details of the discovery of a few inscriptions in this district. *C.I.L.* xiv. 2791 : *Q. Veranius Mystis Silvano votum*, was seen about 1792 in a barn of the farm of Castiglione, with a headless statue of Silvanus, about three palms high, upon it. No. 2822 was found "in Via Praenestina in templo quodam deserto ad rivum nono ab urbe miliari" according to Metellus, who copied it early in the sixteenth century. Dessau, in commenting on the inscription, refers these words to the so-called Temple of Juno; but this is quite eleven miles distant from even the modern gate. Besides, the inscription is sepulchral, and "templum" is not infrequently used by sixteenth century archaeologists in the sense of tomb, especially in reference to the elegant brick tombs of the second and third centuries which resemble small temples. Ligorio in fact says that it was found "in Via Praenestina in certe ruine di un sepolcro a molte miglia da Roma." No. 2824 was found in 1794 not far from the road, near Pantano (*i.e.* on the right) on the Cesi property in the excavation made by Principe Augusto. It belongs probably to the year 511 A.D., and is in honour of one Felix *v(ir) i(nlustris) ex consule ord(inarius)*. In a field wall close to the Temple of Juno Stevenson (*MS. cit.* f. 7) copied the following inscription, cut upon a block of tufa similar to those of which the temple is built, but broken, and therefore measuring only 0·40 × 0·23 metres.

DE

Before the D he saw traces of a letter, either N or A: the lettering was very large. Here he also found two copies of the brick stamp C P EI SAB INI: and another fragment of an inscription / CRI /

In the collection of terra-cottas at Bâle are two pieces from Gabii (from the Horner and Müller collection) (1) Room I. 4 (Bernoulli, *Catalogue*, p. 22) Female head with laurel or olive garland, diadem and veil. The head is flat behind the veil, as if in relief: it is probably part of a statue, (2) Room I. 45 (*op. cit.* p. 31) left foot and sandal 0·245 m. in length.

VI.—FROM GABII TO CAVAMONTE

(from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Milestone).

On the opposite (S.) side of the Via Praenestina to Gabii lies the great plain known as Pantano (swamp). This large basin is probably of volcanic origin, and may have contained a lake in prehistoric times, which, however, owing to the small volume, perhaps, of the springs which fed it, never attained any very great depth; for the floor of the valley is absolutely flat, and its banks, on the W. side especially, are not of sufficient height to allow of any great depth of water being contained within them. That the Lake Regillus is to be placed here, in accordance with the nomenclature of the Staff Map (derived from a conjecture of Rosa's) is highly improbable (see *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, 120, *Classical Review*, 1898, 470). The basin was probably always somewhat swampy, as it is almost entirely barren of traces of antiquity. There are no bricks, no pottery, no signs of human habitation; almost the only remains are the aqueduct of the Aqua Alexandrina (the springs of which are now used for the Acqua Felice), which winds across the plain, adopting a sinuous course in order to keep on the boundary line between two properties, and a large quantity of paving stones, especially near the farmhouse. None of these can be certainly said to be in position ; but besides the roads crossing Pantano from the Via Praenestina towards the Labicana, that running N.E. from the farmhouse towards the Via Praenestina, which it would join some way W. of I Cancelletti, is very likely ancient. At the Casale or farmhouse itself are fragments of marble columns, an oil-press bed, a handmill, &c., but where precisely they were found is quite uncertain.

In 1845 a very large number of votive terra-cotta objects, representing parts of the human form, faces, eyes, female breasts, membra virilia, hearts, feet, also various animals and the feet of oxen (like those found at Ponte di Nona, cf. p. 173), were discovered not far from the Casale of Pantano towards Rome, *i.e.* somewhere on the W. edge of this large basin (*Bull. Inst.* 1845, 52 ; Canina, *Edifizi*, v. p. 91, note 10). The deposit was supposed to have some connexion with the thermal waters of Gabii. Many of the objects were stolen by the "cicoriari" who found them, but as many more found their way to the Palazzo Borghese. In the tenuta was found the waterpipe *C.I.L.* xv. 7831.

The Via Praenestina descends gently. On the S. and parallel to it are the insignificant remains of an aqueduct, which must, however, have crossed the valley of the small stream which it here encounters at a height of 10 or 15 m. above ground. On the W. side of this valley the first traces appear, three or four low brick arches with piers of opus reticulatum, and on the E. side are similar remains. As far as can be seen, the width of the whole was about 1·20 m. It would go underground at about 75 m. above sea level, and probably it came from the springs of the Aqua Alexandrina to supply Gabii with water. Hadrian is mentioned in an inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2797) as a benefactor in this respect, and this aqueduct may have been constructed by him (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 86).

Just before the little stream at the bottom of the valley is reached, on the S. side of the road, about 25 yards from it, I noticed lying in the field a half column of travertine 0·50 m. in diameter, bearing the following inscription.

III	·08	
M·PODILLI·M·F·	·05	·80
N SA⁻CILIQ·F	·05	
__CVR	·045	

The upper end is smooth, the lower broken off. The letters are well cut, and appear to belong to the first half of the seventh century of Rome: and I venture to suggest that this is possibly the thirteenth milestone of the Via Praenestina, restoring the text thus:

[*x*] *iii* | *M. Podilli(us) M. f.* | *N. Sarcili(us) Q. f.* | [*aed. p*] *l. cur* (*averunt*).

It is true that the thirteenth mile would fall about half a mile further towards Rome, but the milestone is lying quite loose in the field, so that its original position cannot be determined. The form of the stone (a half column) is also unusual. See my notice of the inscription in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1900, 217, where a photograph is given.[1] For other milestones of the Republican period discovered in the neighbourhood of Rome see *Röm: Mittheilungen*, 1889, 83; 1895, 298. It is interesting to note that a document in the Archives of S. Prassede (Galletti, *Primicerio*, 284), dating from the year 1060, gives the following as the boundaries of a property:

Inter affines ab uno latere rivo sancti Iuliani et exinde revertitur per limite qui est super eadem rivum usque in Termuli et deinde pergente in plagam que vocatur Aura et per ipsa Aura ducente usque in silice antiqua que est intra Pantano. Et deinde per ipsa silice revertente in loco ubi dicitur Aqua Putea et exinde . . . . in miliare et ab ipso miliare ambulaturi in suprascripto rivo sancti Iuliani qui est . . . . .

I doubt if Aqua Putea can refer to the Fontanile dell' acqua puzza (probably sulphureous, but I have not visited it) which lies in the Quarto di Corzano, over a mile to the E. of the Fosso di S. Giuliano. "Miliare" in all probability refers to the milestone of which we have been speaking which was very likely still *in situ*. Another document of the year 1186 belonging to the same Archives (*ibid.* 326) gives the same points as boundaries, omitting only the last (miliare).

Where the road crosses the valley its supporting wall in opus quadratum is well preserved. It now ascends again, first gradually, then more steeply, and reaches at I Cancelletti the level of 104 m. above the sea. The pavement is in fine preservation, and the width of the road is 4·16 m. (14 feet exactly) at one place on the ascent, and 3·90 m. (13 feet) at the top. On the north of it lie two tombs, one in opus quadratum, the other in concrete, with a buried column of porta santa (Iasian) marble lying by it, and a small water reservoir. On the S. a road probably diverged to the springs of the Aqua Alexandrina, for, starting from them, a line of stones runs along the edge of the hill northwards for a distance of about 200 yards, resembling strongly the line of the supporting wall of a road. And from the top of the hill another road ran southwards along the ridge straight to the farmhouse called La Pallavicina, the pavement of which, as we were told on the spot, had only recently been removed. This road according to Fabretti (*De Aquis*, plan opp. p. 90) ran on to join the Via Labicana not far W. of S. Cesareo.

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[1] The variations in the text here given are due to a more recent examination of the inscription. The gentile names seem to be unknown hitherto: N. is an abbreviation for the praenomen Numerius (Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* i. 19).

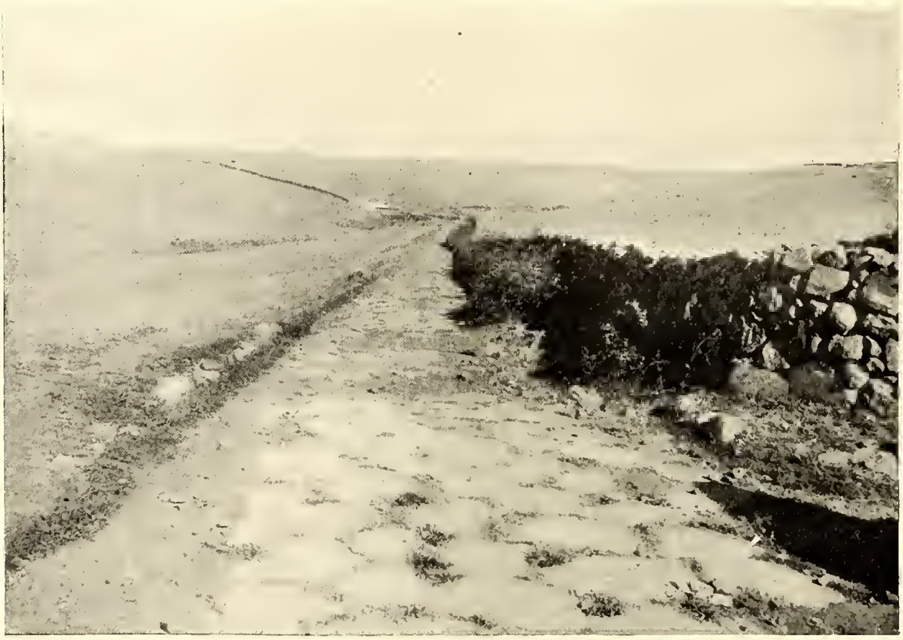

FIG. 15.—VIA PRAENESTINA AT I CANCELLETTI.

Other ancient roads apparently crossed the tenuta in various directions, to judge from the number of paving stones in the field walls near the farmhouse and from what we were told.[1] Some of them were probably connected with the service of the great aqueducts, considerable remains of which still exist above ground in this district; a fact which, as far as I know, has not yet been observed, the generally prevalent idea having been that after Cavamonte, which is quite three miles further E., all trace of them is lost until they emerge at the well-known arches of Le Capannelle and Roma Vecchia, only seven miles from Rome itself. Of these remains I have given a short account in the *Classical Review* for July 1900, p. 325.

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[1] In the Tenuta della Pallavicina was found a lead waterpipe, [Claudius Fel]icissimus fecit (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2777 = xv. 7837 b)

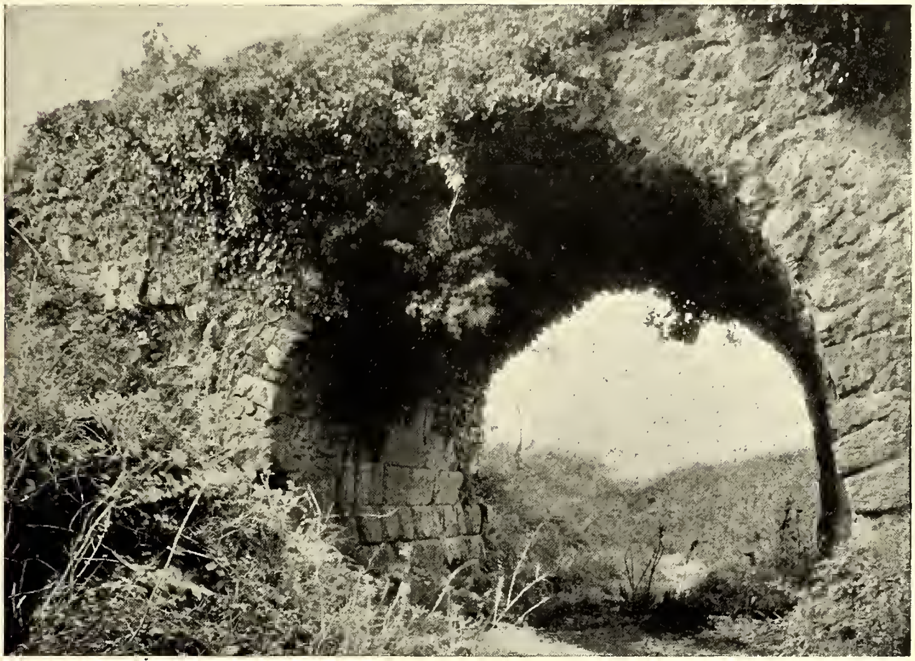
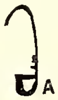


FIG. 16.—PONTE DI TERRA.

After I Cancelletti the road keeps along fairly on the level (Fig. 15) and crosses the Fosso della Pallavicina by a modern bridge, just to the N. of which is a tomb mound: the older bridge was just to the S. of the present. The pavement of the road is well preserved at this point and all the way up the next hill, which is short and fairly steep, the road rising thirty-nine mètres in about six hundred. At the top of the hill on the left of the road are the remains of a large villa with a floor of hard cement and a great many bits of marble and brick lying scattered about; and about a kilomètre to the N.N.W. are the arched substructures of another villa, where there was found recently a curious bronze object,[1] like a *simpulum*, shaped thus  with a small bowl (A) at the lower end.

The road now descends steeply again to the Ponte di Terra (about 115 m. above the sea-level). Here its original width was about 4·35 m., but it has been widened in Roman times to 6·50 m. or even more. The Ponte di Terra is an ancient bridge (Fig. 16), built of rectangular blocks of tufa, varying in height from 45 to 55 cm., and reaching 1·80 m. in length in some cases. The bridge has a span of 4·85 m. and is 6·45 m. wide; it is slightly askew with respect to the stream. Its height above the present bed is about 5·40 m., and its total length, including the bridge head at each end, is 16·20 m. Just after crossing it the road bends sharply to the S.E. and continues in the same direction for about a mile. Two tombs in opus quadratum are passed on the left at once, and a third is seen a little further up the hill, about 100 yards from the bridge, with a semi-circular niche in the middle of the front, which is 12 m. in length. At this point an ancient road, recognisable by the cutting 4 yards wide made for it through the hill, turns off to the N.E. and runs in all probability to Passerano.

The Via Praenestina follows the edge of the slope, supported on the S.W. by a wall of opus quadratum (the stone for which was apparently quarried on the spot, just below the road itself) until it reaches the top of the ridge, along which it runs upon an embankment. It would seem that the engineering here is at fault. The road is made to ascend steeply instead of sloping gradually up the side of the hill as the modern track does; or else the sharp turn and the steep ascent up the ridge might have been avoided by taking the valley just to the N.E.

At the top of the hill are the remains of a *villa rustica* in opus quadratum, with "grotti" cut in the rock to some depth, probably for the storage of water. The character of the building is indicated by the remains of an oil or wine-press bed. Further on is a large square tomb on the S.W. side of the road, built of blocks of stone 85 cm. thick: and a little way beyond on the N.E. side is the so-called "Grotta del Diavolo," apparently a small tomb chamber, entirely below ground, constructed of good brickwork and opus reticulatum. It is reached by a passage 6 m. long by 1·34 m. wide, descending fairly sharply; the flight of steps which originally gave access to it is buried. The chamber measures 3·58 m. long by 3·46 m. wide, and has a barrel vault of concrete, which has been left undecorated and still shows the marks of the boards used in setting it. The height from the spring of the vault to the crown is 2·06 m.; where the vault begins a brick cornice runs all round the walls, and the chamber is filled up to within 43 cm. of it, so that the original total height cannot be estimated.

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[1] The sketch was made from the description given us; we did not see the object itself.

A little way beyond this tomb the road returns to its original direction and keeps a little way S. of E. The pavement, as in the whole of this disused section between the Osteria dell' Osa and Cavamonte, is in a wonderful state of preservation.

Here a deverticulum turns off in a S.W. direction. Its pavement is still fairly well preserved, and its width is 2·50 m. (about 8½ feet). It goes over the hill, marking, as in so many cases, the boundary line between two fields even to this day, and probably runs back towards La Pallavicina.

Remains of two or three tombs are passed on the right, but there is nothing of any real importance.[1] A little way S. of a fountain on the right is the pavement of a road running E. and W. which may, however, have been relaid, and S. of this again in the bank of a stream is the specus of a small aqueduct, which diverged from the Anio Novus (to judge at least from the character of the water deposit) and supplied some villa. We soon come to a bridge over a stream which descends N. to Passerano.

The bridge itself is not ancient, but at the E. end on the S. side are remains of the wall of the head of the ancient bridge. The stream is crossed a little higher up by the two great bridges of the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus, marked on the Staff Map as "Ponte Diruto," as though there were but one bridge.

On its E. bank is the pavement of a road 2·50 m. in width, at first running twelve degrees E. of S. and then S.S.E. It is too high up to be connected with the aqueducts, and apparently runs up to the top of the hill, probably to a villa;[2] but on the N. it runs to the Via Praenestina and crosses it, turning then due N., at which point it is only 2·25 m. in width. Where it diverges there is a group of tombs, some of which were finely decorated with blocks of marble; others are roughly built of concrete, with flange tiles laid at the bottom and a gabled roof of two similar tiles.

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[1] In this neighbourhood (on the Colle di Quadraversa, before reaching Colle Linaro) was found the sepulchral inscription of Sex. Pompeius Baebianus, *scriba quaestorius et aedilicius* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2839).

[2] Fabretti (map opp. p. 90) makes it run to the eighteenth milestone of the Via Labicana, while Ameti takes it back to the Villa Strozzi on the hill W. of Zagarolo.

The road led in the first instance to a large villa on the edge of the Colle Vigna, of the substructures of which (in opus reticulatum) considerable remains exist; and thence it must have gone on to join the road between Passerano and Cavamonte, which it crossed, ascending steeply through a rock cutting to the top of the hill (Colle Selva) on the further side of the road, where it reaches the remains of a villa rustica. Its further course I have not been able to explore.

The Via Praenestina soon turns further S., and after running in a S.E. direction for a little way,[1] comes quite close to the aqueduct of the Anio Novus, the specus of which is here at a level of about 176 m. above the sea.

The aqueduct keeps on the S. of the road, and both turn sharply E.N.E. The road which goes off at the corner in a S.S.W. direction is very likely ancient, as the pavement seems to indicate a divergence at this point. Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 522) in his walk along it failed to find any traces of antiquity. It runs to the Osteria della Colonna.

The aqueduct soon crosses a small stream by what was originally a single arch bridge in opus quadratum, which, however, has been strengthened on each side by successive supporting walls of concrete, so that the thickness of the whole has been at different times increased, until from 2·60 m. it has grown to no less than 9·50 m. The first additions are faced with good brickwork with an ornamental cornice, the later with opus mixtum. The existence of this aqueduct is indicated by Fabretti (*Diss. de Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, map of "Dorsum Praenestinum et Tusculanum"), Cingolani (map), and Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 473); and the "Ponte Diruto" must be what Fabretti calls (without describing it) the last remains of the aqueduct towards Rome. He, however, attributes all these remains to the Aqua Claudia, whereas it is clear, from the amount and character of the deposit, that this aqueduct is that of the Anio Novus.

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[1] In this section some very large paving stones are observable. One measured no less than 1·30 × 1·00 m. The pavement, too, is extremely well preserved, and measures 4·40 m. in width. There is a *crepido* on each side, of blocks of selce, one higher than the rest being placed every 4½ paces (p. 181).

In fact, the present road passes over the same stream as the aqueduct upon a bank of water deposit, through which a tunnel has been cut for the passage of the stream, so that the leakage must have been extensive.

Just before the stream is crossed, a reticulatum wall is seen in the bank on the right of the road, which soon runs to the back of the modern fountain and disappears. It is just possible that this is a part of the aqueduct of the Aqua Claudia, which might be expected to be seen above ground at this point; but certainty is impossible without excavation. Being slightly curved, it may be nothing more than a portion of a large circular tomb.

On the N. side of the modern track ran the ancient road, supported on a causeway above the flat ground. Two or three courses of its N. supporting wall of opus quadratum may be seen by descending into the garden immediately below. At Cavamonte it crosses the road coming from the Ponte Lucano by way of Corcolle and Passerano and continuing past Zagarolo to join the other main route from Praeneste to Rome, which is, in fact, that at present in use, the deverticulum which leaves the Via Labicana at S. Cesareo (p. 267). This road (now called the "Maremmana inferiore") runs from Corcolle to Zagarolo along the bottom of a deep valley, and is certainly ancient, being a necessary means of communication for this district, especially as Corcolle, Passerano, and Zagarolo (p. 267) are, to judge from their appearance and from other indications, probably the sites of ancient towns, whether the names generally applied to them, Querquetula, Scaptia, and Pedum, really belong to them or no.

The questions as to the sites of Querquetula and Scaptia cannot be discussed here. Pedum, like the other two, was an ancient Latin city, appearing in the early wars between Rome and her neighbours, and being finally captured by L. Furius Camillus in B.C. 339 (Livy, viii. 12, *Fasti Capit.*). After this date it is only mentioned once, and that is in Pliny's catalogue of the lost cities of Latium, but the name apparently clung to the district. Cicero (*ad Att.* ix. 18) mentions a villa of Caesar's near Pedum, and Tibullus had an estate there. Horace (*Epist.* i. 4, 2) says to him, *Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?* The scholiast on the passage remarks that the district lay between Tibur and Praeneste, and according to some took its name from the tomb of one Pedanus, according to others, from an old town (no longer existing) called Pedum. Other indications as to its site are given by Dionysius and Livy in describing Coriolanus's attacks, after his exile, on the cities which remained faithful to Rome. The former (viii. 19) tells us that Coriolanus marched from Labicum (Montecompatri) to Pedum, and, having taken it, proceeded to Corbio (probably Rocca Priora); while Livy (ii. 39) makes Coriolanus capture Corbio, Vitellia, Trebium and Labicum, then Pedum, and then march directly on Rome. From these accounts it would seem more likely that Pedum lay somewhere in the Alban Hills, though the statement of the scholiast (whatever its value may be) tells against this view; and it is further to be borne in mind that the Gauls, returning from Praeneste in 360 B.C., encamped there (Livy, vii. 12), and that we find it in alliance with Praeneste and Tibur in 339 B.C., so that it may have been situated nearer to Praeneste. Any attempt to fix the site more closely is, however, in the present state of our knowledge, quite useless; and this is the case with regard to most of the smaller old Latin cities mentioned by our authorities. In the district with which we are now dealing, we have a certain number of names, and a certain number of sites which are either certainly or probably ancient; but we have not the information which will enable us to fit the names to the sites with any reasonable degree of probability, and, unless inscriptions should come to our aid, we are not very likely to acquire such evidence as we need.

The road between the Osteriola and Zagarolo presents no features of interest, except that a short way from the Osteriola, on the left, there is a curious rock-cut columbarium built into the hillside, the interior of which is faced with opus reticulatum. The modern road ascends and passes through Zagarolo, but the ancient road probably kept to the valley to the W. until it reached the road from S. Cesareo to Palestrina close to the Ponte Terrenchiuso (p. 267).

Besides the Zagarolo road, another, still preserving its ancient pavement, diverges to the right at the Osteriola, ascending steeply to the Colle del Pero. This long narrow hill was covered with buildings in ancient times. Almost all the remains belong, however, to the Imperial period, but it is not improbable that this was the site of some village of that age. At one house are columns and architectural fragments in tufa and peperino, and in the vineyard below it an extensive mosaic pavement of black cubes with larger white pieces in the centre, which the shallowness and roughness of the cubes show to be of late date, has recently been turned up. At the top of the hill is a small amphitheatre, constructed of opus reticulatum with quoins of tufa, and belonging therefore, in all probability, to the first century of the Empire. Its internal diameters are respectively 44·50 m. and 29·90 m. The outermost wall preserved, with niches and doors, is 1 m. thick. Outside it are traces of a passage 2·50 wide, but the outer enclosing wall has perished.[1] Beyond it are two large water reservoirs in opus reticulatum, the remains of a columbarium, which when found had two urns in each niche but has since been very much damaged, and various other remains. A cippus has been built into a gateway here, bearing an inscription, which, though apparently not unknown to archaeologists (I was told that it had been seen and copied by Garrucci and others), has never, so far as I know, been published. I therefore give it here.

C IVLIO C F PAL
SEVERO VIXIT
ANNIS XXVIII ET
C IVLIO · AVG LIB ·
CRESCENTI CLARANO
PATRI IN FRO P L
IN AGR P LXV

The cippus is of travertine, and the surface is somewhat worn, so that my copy, made rather hurriedly, is not accurate in the matter of punctuation. The end of the fifth line I could not read, and give the letters as they appeared to me. The cippus is rounded at the head, and measures 33 cm. across, 47 high, and 13 thick ; the letters of each line are 25 mm. high. At Cavamonte was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2840.

After leaving the Osteriola the road runs through a deep cutting in the rock, which has been further deepened in recent times ; in some places the ancient pavement is seen six feet above the modern road. The construction of opus quadratum in a crevice high up on its N.W. side, which Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 444) attributed to an aqueduct, is probably intended to fill up a crack in the rock, so as to prevent earth from falling on the road. A string course of three blocks of opus quadratum close by looks as if it may have supported an inscription. On this side there is the square

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[1] A plan of this amphitheatre was made by Palladio (Portfolio xv. f. 8′, of his drawings in the library of the Society of Architects) : in his time the vineyard in which it stands belonged to Camillo Colonna.

puteus of an aqueduct (half cut away by the modern widening of the road), which descended through the rock for a considerable depth. One side, with footholes at intervals of 0·50 to 0·60 m., is still to be seen. One of the great aqueducts therefore, and possibly the other three as well, passed under the Via Praenestina at this point. The bridge by which the modern road to Gallicano crosses the next ravine, just to the N.W. of the Ponte Amato on the Via Praenestina, is an aqueduct bridge built of opus quadratum strengthened with brickwork. Its total width is, however, 4·44 m. at the top, so that it is possible that in ancient times too it carried a road, unless it took two aqueducts side by side, perhaps the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus.

The bridge by which the same road crosses the ravine just S. of Gallicano was also originally built in fine opus quadratum of dark brown tufa, and strengthened later with brickwork. Its total thickness is 3·62 m. Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. I., Tab. I.) and Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 473) attribute it to the Aqua Claudia, and the deposit which I have found resembles that of this water. On other grounds, however, I should be inclined to attribute it to the Anio Novus; but the question is one of great difficulty and complexity, and cannot be discussed here.

The bridge to the N. of Gallicano, marked by Fabretti as a bridge of the aqueduct of the Claudia, is entirely modern.

The two bridges S. of Gallicano are connected by an extremely deep rock cutting through the Colle Collafri, which bears no certain traces of antiquity, but can hardly fail to be ancient. For, besides the fact that Gallicano probably occupies the site of some ancient town (though an identification is impossible), the road which we have been following so far continues eastwards to join the modern road to Poli (itself of ancient origin) near the Villa Catena, forming an important artery of communication. That the same was the case in ancient times is certain from the existence of tombs along its course (one, to the N.E. of Gallicano, is a massive structure of concrete, faced originally with square blocks of tufa), and from the fact that the so-called Ponte di Terra about a mile further on is a natural bridge over a stream, the aperture for which has been carefully enlarged by the hand of man. The regularity and fineness of the work make it impossible to attribute it to any but Roman times, and, further, by the side of it there is a specus 60 cm. wide, cut in the rock, of the shape generally adopted in ancient times; used doubtless for drawing off water to supply some building, or else to convey drainage into the stream. The district traversed by this road contains many remains of villas and water reservoirs, and must have been populous.

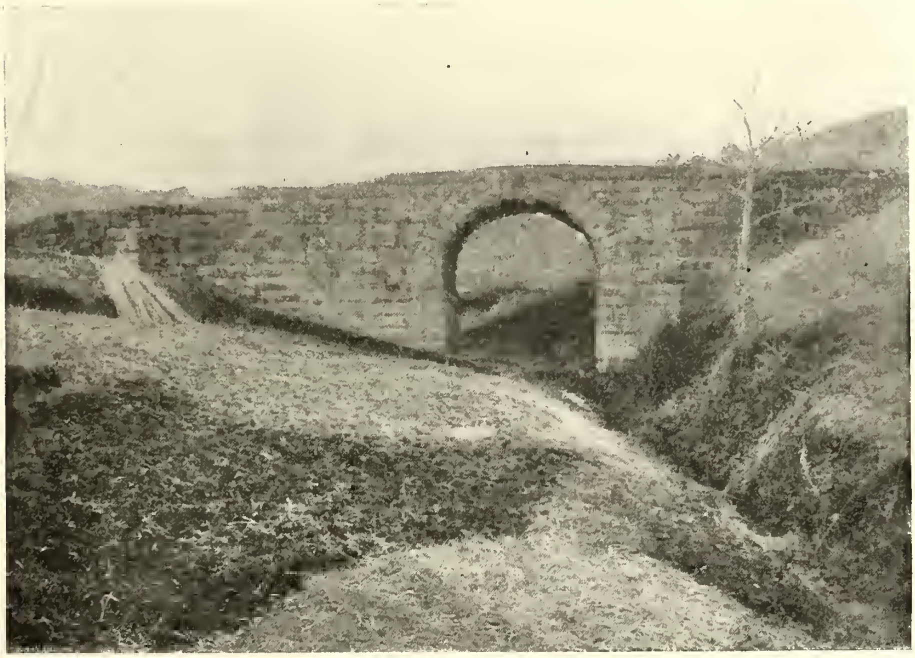

FIG. 17.—PONTE AMATO.

VII.—FROM CAVAMONTE TO PALESTRINA

(*from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-third Milestone*).

The Via Praenestina, after emerging from the Cavamonte cutting, leaves the road to Gallicano on the left, and crosses the Ponte Amato (Fig. 17). This is among the most perfect specimens of a Roman road bridge. Its height is about 10 m., and it has seventeen courses of opus quadratum, the blocks being 56 to 65 cm. high. The roadway measures 5·65 m. (19 Roman feet) in width, the *crepidines*, or low parapets, 59 and 60 cm. (2 feet). The construction is extremely fine, and the bridge is in very good preservation. For further details see Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 629.

The road now turns, and ascends the opposite hill fairly steeply in a S.E. direction; upon the slope there are some remains of the ancient pavement. Before reaching the top of the ridge it crosses the line of the modern road, and runs within the enclosure wall of the large Palazzo San Pastore (the summer residence of the German College), which is partly built upon a large water reservoir. Beyond the Palazzo it falls into the line of the modern road, and the line of blocks of its retaining wall is visible at the side of the present road. Here it has reached 275 m. above sea level, 100 m. above its level at the Ponte Amato. It continues to run straight on in the same direction, ascending gradually to a height of 425 m. above sea level, until it ends just below the town of Palestrina, keeping along the summit of a long narrow hill with a deep ravine on each side. This alternation of ridges and deep valleys is characteristic of this district, and it is to this that we owe the existence of so many remains of the great aqueducts, which, in order to keep them at a fairly uniform level without the use of siphons, had to be alternately carried on viaducts and through tunnels.

This straight line of road was flanked by numerous tombs, of which some remains exist, increasing, naturally, in number as Praeneste is approached. A considerable number of inscriptions belonging to these tombs have been found: *C.I.L.* xiv. 2842–5 near S. Pastore; 3397 in the Vigna Tranquilli close to the road near S. Pastore; 2940, 3345, 3346, at the Villetta near S. Pastore.

Rather less than a mile from S. Pastore, on the left of the road, are the remains of a large and lofty square mass of concrete, the core of a tomb; and a little further on the ancient pavement of the road is seen. On the Colle Caroso, to the N.E., are two groups of remains in opus reticulatum, belonging, perhaps, to an extensive villa. To the N.E. again, on the hill known as Le Colonnelle, some interesting finds were made in 1887 (*Not. Scav.* 1887, 121). Some walls of opus reticulatum, covered with fine painted stucco belonging to early Imperial times, and others built of small rectangular blocks of stone, with binding courses of bricks, were discovered; also the half of a funeral cippus (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4276), a round leaden urn with inscription (*ib.* 4277) and several brick stamps (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 498, *ad* n. 4091). Other objects which were said to have been found at the same place—some skeletons, a sword, a bronze helmet, and a ring—were not forthcoming. Near Gallicano was also found *C.I.L* xiv. 2841.

The other hills on each side of the road, now entirely covered with vineyards, were, notwithstanding the difficulties of communication caused by the deep ravines, mostly running parallel to the road, and cutting up what would otherwise be one tableland into many independent sections, fairly thickly sprinkled with houses in ancient times, some the villas of the rich, others the dwellings of cultivators. The thickness of population naturally increased as Praeneste was approached, but owing to the fact that the land here has been so long under cultivation, the remains of ancient buildings are now in most cases insignificant. It is noteworthy, however, that whereas the Romans lived upon their land, the modern vine-grower, even in a district comparatively elevated—the general level of the hill-tops, and of the road itself at this point, is quite 300 m. (about 1000 feet) above sea-level—finds it necessary, for reasons of health, to return to one of the villages, Gallicano, Zagarolo, or Palestrina itself, to sleep, and this not merely in the summer, but all the year through.

At the Casa Sterpara, a little further along the road on the right, the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3389 (a sepulchral inscription cut on a slightly curved block of marble, which was placed in the façade of a round tomb) and fragments of 3386 may still be seen built into the wall. Both were found here in 1855 or 1856 in removing the ancient pavement from the road. I was informed that a large headless statue was found here in 1898 under the modern road, and bought by a stone-cutter at Palestrina. Another sepulchral inscription existed till recently at the house on the opposite side of the road, but had recently been removed to Gallicano (the inscription not being well enough preserved to be thought worth keeping) and the marble carved into the arms of the town and placed above the public fountain.

About a mile further on is the church of the Madonna della Stella, just at the twenty-first mile of the ancient road, and about two miles from Praeneste. Before reaching it a tomb of late date is passed on the right. Near here were found *C.I.L.* xiv. 3034, 3311.

From La Stella to the Ponte Sardone the ancient pavement is in a fair state of preservation—at one point near the Villa Frattini I measured the width as 4·31 m. (14½ feet). It lies abandoned just on the N.E. of the modern road. The steady ascent still continues, and, after a slight turn just at La Stella, the road runs absolutely straight. The valleys on each side of the road now become much wider and shallower, dying away altogether as Palestrina is reached. The name Valle Vigesimo, which belongs to a valley just beyond La Stella on the N.E., recalls the twentieth mile of the ancient road, which would fall, as a matter of fact, about a mile on the Rome side of the Madonna della Stella.[1] At the top of this valley, W. of the Casa Caffarella, are some remains in reticulatum and brick, and at the house itself some fragments of marble decoration. Here was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 3404. A little further on Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 89) notes the existence of a tomb by the road, and the discovery within the vineyards of the remains of a fine building, perhaps the tomb of a certain M. Ulpius, the fragmentary inscription, *C.I.L.* 3366, having been found here. To the N. is the district called Le Tende, approached by a road running N.N.W., descending steeply into the valley and ascending on the other side, past the remains of a water reservoir (Le Grottelle). According to Cecconi (*op. cit.* p. 19, note 36) and Fernique (*Préneste*, in the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises*, fasc. 17, p. 122) this road is ancient. It probably ran, as Fernique suggests, to Tivoli, joining the road which now leads to Poli near the Villa Catena. In the district of Le Tende the inscriptions, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2939, 3400, 3401 (all sepulchral), and the water pipe 3043 were found; also, but nearer the Porta San Martino of Palestrina, the water pipes 3039, 3041, 3042.[2] No. 3039 gives us the name of the owner of the property, P. Acidius Attianus —the rest merely bear the makers' names. On the Colle d' Oddo, still further N., *C.I.L.* xiv. 2985 was discovered.

Some 400 mètres further on, the Torrione Frocina, a large brick tomb, of the ornamental style of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Empire, is passed on the right. It is most likely the tomb referred to by Ligorio, Cod. Bodl. 36′. By it diverges an ancient deverticulum, which runs S.W. above the S.E. end of the Valle di Forca (or Folca) Rotonda, and then turns southwards and reaches at I Prati (near which were found the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2833, 3321) the deverticulum from the Via Labicana (p. 267). So far it is certainly ancient, as the cuttings made for it show. The fountain of Boccapiana has some ancient pavingstones, and close to it in the hill-side is a water-channel, or else a drain for a building on the hill above, of which a few traces remain. To the S. of this road it may be conjectured (though there is at the present time no actual evidence on the spot) to have run on past a ruin known as il Muraccio dei Prati to join the Via Labicana itself at the Torraccio di Mezzaselva (see Cecconi, *l.c.*). According to the same authority,[1] the road which diverges to the right just before the Ponte Sardone is reached and joins that last mentioned on the Colle di S. Pietro[2] is also ancient; and so are the two roads which diverge on the left (N.N.E.) side of the Via Praenestina, one of which runs parallel to that previously mentioned, past the Madonna di Catavasso to Le Tende, and over the Colle Ruzzano to S. Giovanni in Camporazio,[3] while the other turns due E. behind the Villa Frattini traversing the district called Ceciliano and the Vigne Petrelli, where Cecconi records the discovery of many sepulchral urns and *glandes plumbeae*, dating perhaps from the siege by Sulla (*loc. cit.*), and ascends towards Castel S. Pietro, the arx of Praeneste.

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[1] From the Valle Vigesimo, according to Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 18, n. 34), an ancient road ascended to the Colle Cappelle and Le Tende. Perhaps it went on along the Colle S. Rocco to Gallicano, though he does not say so.

[2] The inscriptions on these pipes are republished in *C.I.L.* xv. 7888, 7881, 7886, 7887.

To the Vigna Rodi or Burri, which lies between the two roads leading to Le Tende, belong *C.I.L.* xiv. 2948, 2951, 3059, 3065, 3105, 3170, 3191, 3192, 3202, 3351, 3355, 3430a. At the Villa Frattini are preserved 3335, 3356, 3362, 3373, 3391, 3395, 3409. Almost all these inscriptions belong to tombs and are of no special importance. The provenance of the Villa Frattini group (with the exception of 3373 which was found here near the road) is unknown, and some may have been brought from Rome. No. 3392 was also found near here in mending the road.

Beyond the Villa Frattini, on the left, is the Casa Carletti, which is partly built into the walls of a Roman building. The path diverging by it is shown, by the remains of paving which exist, to be of ancient origin. On the W. side of it are the remains of a villa, including a very fine cryptoporticus, the roof of which, with its decorations (paintings on a white ground, divided into panels by decorative borders, of very good style) is still well preserved, and deserves to be properly excavated and taken care of. After a short distance it divides: one branch goes towards Colle Martino, which is crowned by a large villa, and is stated by Cecconi

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[1] There are no traces of pavement *in situ* in this road, but several loose pavingstones, and at Casale S. Pietro there are a great number; while I was credibly informed that pavement still exists *in situ* in the road from Torrione Frocina to S. Pietro.

[2] Here were found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2851, 2895, 2918, 3326, 3327; also the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 2344, 2363 and another, which I believe to be unpublished, /ΞPPOC There is here, besides the remains of the church of S. Pietro, a very large and well preserved water reservoir, also traces of a villa decorated with very fine marbles.

[3] Nibby and Gell in their maps make this road keep along the Colle d' Oddo and the Colle Tondo, crossing the stream W. of the latter.

(p. 20, n. 37) to be ancient: the other goes northwards, and must pass not far from Porta S. Martino (the path issuing from this gate does not, so far as I could tell, follow the line of an ancient road), and then below S. Francesco (where traces of its pavement were discovered some years ago; see Fernique, *op. cit.* p. 122) to join the road to the arx (Castel S. Pietro). Cecconi also states that an ancient road ran from the W. end of the Ponte Sardoni to the Fonte Forma le Mura and thence to I Prati and the Via Labicana. It is quite possible, though perhaps not very probable, that so many ancient roads should have existed in the immediate neighbourhood of Palestrina in ancient times: and Cecconi bears a good reputation for accuracy. At the present time, however, in most cases the pavement has entirely disappeared, not even the broken fragments of selce being left to tell the tale. The road now passes over the Ponte Sardone, a long embankment, just over 10 mètres in thickness at present. The ancient facing of the N.N.E. side is, however, nowhere visible, so that the accuracy of the measurement is doubtful. The S.S.W. side shows a mixture of styles: the W. end is faced with opus incertum of the Republican epoch, the centre with brickwork with projecting buttresses joined by arches, the E. end with mediaeval work of small blocks of tufa.

At the E. end of the bridge on the N. side of the road, is a gigantic platform, with two different levels, (constructed of reticulatum on the S. side and opus quadratum and incertum on the W.), intended to support a villa. It contains a large water reservoir only recently filled up. Fernique (p. 119) says that it is in such a good state of preservation, that it could be used now, the water pipes being apparently still in their places. Under this platform, or further up the valley spanned by the Ponte Sardone, was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2994.

The church of S. Giovanni, on the S. of the road, is built of fragments of buildings of Roman date. To the W. of it is a small house, built upon an ancient arched building of opus incertum. Just opposite to the church on the left of the road, are traces of brick tombs.[1] Here the Via Praenestina is crossed almost at right angles by a road which ascends due N. to the Porta S. Martino, in which unite two separate deverticula, both from the Via Labicana. One, diverging at S. Cesareo beyond Colonna, is the present road from Rome, and is just about as long as the Via Praenestina itself; the other leaves the Via Labicana about 3 miles further on, and runs up straight to Praeneste, but is slightly longer. There are a few stones of the pavement preserved at the crossing.

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[1] *C.I.L.* xiv. 2960 was found here (cf. Petrini, *Memorie Prenestine*, p. 78).

Near this junction of roads have been found the following inscriptions: *C.I.L.* xiv. 2891–2893, 2952 (in the Vigna Soleti, to the S. of the Via Praenestina, between it and the road from S. Cesareo, at about 300 yards from the bifurcation); 2997, 2999, 3013 (near the Madonna dell' Aquila, on the E. side of the road formed by the two deverticula from the Via Labicana). Cecconi (p. 86) speaks of the existence of ruins of a villa, in which mosaic pavements were discovered, at a place called Forma le Mura, to the W. of S. Agapito, in the property of the Petrini family.

The Via Praenestina now crosses the centre of the lower town, while the other road runs on northwards to the upper city and the Temple of Fortune. Its pavement is deeply buried, but its existence is known from various discoveries, and it reappears on the E. side of the modern town, near the Ponte dell' Ospedalato, at 1·50 m. above the modern road. Its further course, until it joins the Via Labicana in the Valley of the Sacco, which is itself soon absorbed in the Via Latina, is briefly discussed below (p. 218n.); but it is not an integral part of our subject. The town of Praeneste, too, lies outside the scope of our present investigation.

VIA LABICANA.

I.—FROM THE PORTA MAGGIORE TO CENTOCELLE

(*from the First to the Fifth Milestone*).

The Via Labicana diverges to the right from the Via Praenestina just inside the Porta Maggiore. As its name indicates, it ran, in the first instance, to Labici; but both the site of this place and the course of the road have long formed matter of controversy among topographers. I hope to demonstrate below (p. 238) that the road passed to the S., and not to the N. of Colonna, and that Rosa and Dessau are therefore justified in placing Labici at Montecompatri.

An even greater difficulty has been that of reconciling the indications given by the Itineraries with the actual facts. Strabo (v. 3, 9, p. 237) speaks of Labici as lying on the right of the road, at a distance of some fifteen miles from Rome, and of the Via Labicana as falling into the Via Latina at the station called *Ad Pictas*: *πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων καὶ πλησιάσασα τῷ Λαβικῷ, παλαιῷ κτίσματι κατεσπασμένῳ, κειμένῳ δ' ἐφ' ὕψους, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τὸ Τοῦσκλον ἐν δεξιοῖς ἀπολείπει, τελευτᾷ δὲ πρὸς τὰς Πικτὰς καὶ τὴν Λατίνην· διέχει δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διακοσίους καὶ δέκα σταδίους.* The Antonine itinerary gives the first few stations of the two roads as follows:

VIA LATINA.	VIA LAVICANA.
Ab Urbe ad Decimum m. p. x.	Ad Quintanas m. p. xv.
Roboraria m. p. iii. (one MS. F. (*see* Parthey's edition) vi.).	Ad Pictas m. p. x.
Ad Pictas m. p. xvii. (one MS. xviii.).	Compitum m. p. xv.
Compitum m. p. xv. (one MS. xii.).	
Intrat in Lavicanam.	

While the Tabula Peutingeriana varies somewhat:

VIA LATINA.	VIA LAVICANA.
[Ad Decimum] x.	Ad Quintanas xv.
Ad Bivium	Ad Statuas iii.
	Ad Pactas vii.
	Ad Bivium v.

Conpito Anagnino x.

The distances then may be stated as follows: From Rome to Ad Pictas by the Via Latina, 30 miles; by the Via Labicana 25 miles.[1] From Rome to Ad Bivium by the Via Latina, 35 miles (?); by the Via Labicana, 30 miles. From Rome to Compitum Anagninum by the Via Latina, 45 miles; by the Via Labicana, 40 miles; from Praeneste to Compitum Anagninum, 24 miles (Itin. Ant.).[2]

According to these indications, the Via Labicana ought to be found to be five miles shorter than the Via Latina; but, as a matter of fact, there is less than a mile of difference between them at their point of junction at S. Ilario (see p. 280), which is just under 30 miles from Rome by the Via Labicana, and just over 30 by the Via Latina, so that its identification with the station of Ad Bivium, and the reference of the name to the meeting of these two roads, and not of some by-road from Velletri or elsewhere, seems certain. This being so, the numbering of the milestones further along the road towards Casilinum, where it joins the Via Appia, will agree with that of the first portion of either; and the statement in *C.I.L.* x. p. 695, that the milestones follow the numeration of the Via Labicana, and not that of the Via Latina, falls to the ground. The question of the comparative importance of the two roads, and of the name to be given to the road in which they unite, from Ad Bivium to Casilinum, is not very easy to solve.

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[1] According to Strabo (*loc. cit.*) about 26 miles—210 stadia—by which road we are not told.

[2] The distance is really only 18 or 19 miles (p. 218 n.).

The passage of Strabo may be taken as decisive as regards the practice of his day, and may even mean that the Via Labicana did not in his time go further than Ad Pictas. It is indeed probable that the Via Latina was constructed first, leading as it did through the pass of Algidus, a position of great military importance, and very easy to defend when once occupied.

I have conjectured below (p. 241) that the Via Labicana was originally the direct road from Rome to Tusculum, that it was then prolonged to Labici (p. 253), and finally became a road for through traffic, very likely actually superseding the Via Latina, as, while the distance is the same, the latter at the pass of Algidus attains an elevation 650 feet higher than the "summit level" of the Via Labicana. As regards the Via Appia, the journey by the Via Labicana is only 6 miles longer to their point of junction at Casilinum, and by following the latter the troublesome journey by boat through the Pomptine Marshes (which was customary until the road was made through by Trajan)[1] and the mountainous country between Terracina and Formiae would have been avoided. It is to be noted that the Antonine Itinerary says expressly that it is the Via Latina which falls into the Labicana. The two roads were united under one curator in imperial times. In the inscriptions of the curatores (collected by Cantarelli, *Bull. Com.* 1891, 112) we find that sometimes both roads are mentioned, sometimes one only, and in the latter case more frequently the Latina. In one instance only do we find the curator a man of equestrian rank (*C.I.L.* x. 5393); in all other cases the *cura* is held by men of senatorial rank who had already served the office of praetor.

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[1] It seems to have been usual in the first century A.D. (see *C.I.L.* x. p. 684, Strabo v. 3. 6. p. 233, Horace, *Sat.* i. 5), though the road was apparently in existence from what Strabo says: πλησίον τῆς Ταρρακίνης βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραβέβληται τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ διῶρυξ . . . . πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα μὲν νύκτωρ ὥστ' ἐμβάντας ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρωίας καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν· ῥυμουλκεῖ δ' ἡμιόνιον. Why this troublesome mode of progression was adopted does not seem clear, unless because the road was often impracticable, as De La Blanchère thinks (*Terracine*, in the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises*, p. 80 sqq.).

Besides the junction at Ad Bivium, we have to account for another junction of the two roads at Ad Pictas, 25 miles from Rome by the Via Labicana (the Antonine Itinerary is clearly wrong with regard to the distances on the Via Latina). If we suppose that Ad Pictas was really a station on the Via Latina, and that a branch ran to it from the Via Labicana (the main road certainly does not meet the Via Latina before S. Ilario—Ad Bivium), we are able to reconcile the passage of Strabo already quoted with the facts. In that case we may place Ad Pictas at the Fontanile delle Macere, which is nearly 24 miles from Rome by the Via Latina and about 25 by the Labicana, taking a deverticulum which diverges to the S. about the 23rd mile. Rosa (*Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154) puts Ad Pictas on the hill to the E., which would make the distances respectively 25 and 26 miles.

There now remains Compitum Anagninum, which must be placed at the Osteria della Fontana below Anagni, which is 40 miles distant from Rome, but not more than 18 or 19 from Praeneste.[1] Here, according to the Antonine Itinerary, the Via Latina fell into the Labicana. The statement may be merely an error (*C.I.L.* x. p. 696), but it is worthy of note that while a branch of the Via Latina comes to join the Labicana at S. Ilario, a road goes straight on, in the same line which the road has followed for several miles, as far as the railway station of Anagni, beyond which I have not followed it. It has now no remains of the ancient pavement, which has probably been broken up to form the well preserved mediaeval paving of pieces of limestone. It would fall naturally into the Via Labicana precisely at Compitum.

It is thus probable that all the three junctions of the Via Latina and Labicana which we find mentioned had a real existence, and that the fact that these roads met in no less than three points at post stations (besides other less important intercommunications) led to the confusion which we find in the tables of distances.

The Via Labicana traverses the plain as far as Torre Nuova. Here the modern Via Casilina[1] diverges to the left, while the ancient road, now entirely abandoned and not easily traceable, goes to the right, and soon reaches the N. slopes of the Alban Hills, which it crosses in an E.S.E. direction, following roughly the boundary between the pasture and corn land and the vineyards. Between Colonna and Montecompatri, and close to the former village, at the station of Ad Quintanas, it turns due E., and continues in this direction until the station of Ad Statuas (S. Cesareo) is reached. Here it turns S.E. again, and runs in a straight direction for about five miles, traversing undulating country, and rising and falling with the ground. The highest level it reaches is 360 m. (about 1180 feet) above the sea. At the twenty-third mile it turns due E., and then a mile further slightly S. of E. again. It keeps this direction, descending gradually through easy country, until S. Ilario is reached. For the last six miles of its course the pavement is preserved intact; sometimes covered by a thin layer of soil, sometimes exposed to view. From S. Ilario it must have followed the valley in which the line from Velletri to Segni runs, as far as the station of Segni, close to which is the large mediaeval castle of Piombinara which probably marks the site of Sacriportus (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 50). Here it probably crossed the Sacco and fell into the line now followed by the modern Via Casilina; but the valley of the Sacco is so subject to inundations that no traces of the road need be looked for above ground at this point.

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[1] This distance is calculated either along the modern road from Palestrina to Valmontone (which follows the line of an ancient road) and thence along the present Via Casilina to Piombinara (where the Via Labicana probably rejoins the modern road) and on to the Osteria della Fontana, or along the Via della Selva (an ancient road according to Fabretti, *De Aquis*, map, opp. p. 90, Chaupy, *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, iii. 467), which diverges at S. Bartolomeo from the Cave road, thence to the modern Via Casilina and on as before. I have not, however, been able to work out the problem thoroughly. The modern Via Casilina from S. Cesareo to Piombinara follows in all probability the line of an ancient road.

The most difficult part of the road is that in which it rises from the plain to the hills; from the point where it crosses the Via Cavona to the point where, just S. of the village of Colonna, it strikes the road which leads from Frascati to the Osteria della Colonna on the modern Via Casilina. It ascends on the whole 600 feet in five miles, continually rising and falling and rising again. Deep cuttings through the hills, massive supporting walls and great bridges, such as we see on other roads, are conspicuous by their absence. The constructors of the road seem to have taken the ground as they found it, and the gradients must often have been steep and inconvenient for traffic. Cultivation has, however, done much to conceal the traces of the road, and renders it sometimes very difficult or even impossible to fix its course exactly. Its abandonment is very likely due to the troubles of the Middle Ages, as we may gather from the remains of mediaeval fortifications which we shall observe along its course.

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[1] I do not know how old the name is—it certainly does not go back very far; Nibby does not seem to know it, so that it may be an invention of the last fifty years.

After leaving the Porta Maggiore the modern road runs for some way between walls, and then crosses to the N.E. side of the Naples railway. In this first part of its course it was flanked on the left by the low arches of the Anio Vetus (see *Bull. Inst.* 1861, p. 73, for their discovery when the railway was made), of which no trace is now visible, and on the right by those of the Claudia and Anio Novus, and probably also of the Marcia, Tepula, and Iulia (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, sheet 32). In this district, "iuxta aquaeductum," was the cemetery of St. Castulus (*Bull. Arch. Chr.* 1865, 9). Between the railway and the aqueduct of the Acqua Felice are the remains (now inclosed by a wall) of the tomb of the Fonteii, which faced the Via Labicana, excavated in 1880 (*Bull. Com. Arch.* 1880, 142). The inscriptions have been removed to the Museo delle Terme (*Guida del Museo*, p. 65). In making a branch line from the Pisa to the Florence railway, which passes under the road here, and runs due N., many discoveries were made (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 339, 365, 401; 1890, 33, 115, 156; 1891, 288).

The pavement of the road was brought to light at a distance of 30 m. from the aqueduct, and 2·70 m. below the present ground level, flanked by tombs constructed in opus quadratum. Many inscriptions belonging to the latter were found. The road had been much ruined by the pozzolana quarries which had been made below it. In these a few loculi were found, showing that, when disused, they served for burials. An extensive network of *cuniculi* (small passages cut in the rock for use as water reservoirs) was found in the hill occupied by the casino of the Vigna di S. Marcello.

On the right is the Vigna Lepri or Serventi, in which were found *C.I.L.* vi. 3297, 3569; also an inscription of a freedman of an Arab king Samsiceramus, illustrated by Paribeni in *Bull. Com.* 1900, 33 (see also 238). A little farther on, at about the second mile of the road, an ancient road diverged to the right (Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, p. 88.) The pavement was discovered when the railway to Albano was made in 1890 (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 11). It is now called Via del Mandrione, and follows the arches of the aqueducts as far as the Porta Furba, where it joins the Via Tuscolana, a road about the antiquity of which there is considerable controversy. About a kilomètre along the Via del Mandrione the remains of a villa and of a deverticulum running to the Via Labicana were discovered (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 341 ; 1890, 34).[1] The main road continues to run between walls, and presents no features of interest until the descent to the valley of the small stream called La Marranella is reached. Here traces of the pavement of the ancient road are visible at a slightly higher level than that of the modern one, and remains of a tomb are seen on the right. On the left, in the Vigna Apolloni, and extending also under the road to the Vigna Marolda Pitilli, a Jewish cemetery was discovered in 1882 (Marucchi in *Diss. del Acc. Pont. Arch.* S. ii., vol. ii. 497 ; *Guide des Catacombes romaines*, 224). A water reservoir was found in the Vigna Apolloni in 1884 (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 238). This vineyard formerly belonged to the Aldobrandini family. S. of the road may be seen the last arches towards Rome of the aqueduct of Alexander Severus. At the bottom of the valley the road crosses the stream, and immediately afterwards is crossed by the new military road. Excavations led to the discovery of the pavement of the ancient road slightly to the left of that of the modern one, at a depth of 3 m. below the present surface, and of the remains of tombs (*Not. Scav.* 1889, pp. 274, 401). After crossing the stream a road now known as Vicolo dei Carbonari diverges to the left: the cutting made for it through the rock clearly indicates that it is ancient. After about half a mile it turns due E. and falls into the line of the prolongation of the Vicolo del Pigneto (see p. 152). On the E. of this road the Staff Map marks "ruderi." Nothing remains standing, but there are bricks and marble lying about. A fragment of a tablet of gray marble, probably from a columbarium, bearing the following inscription in letters 12 mm. high, was found there.

ↃRIS
AE·Ↄ·L·DIOI
/XORI

The last letter of the second line is a p or an f.

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[1] This would correspond with the road marked by Kiepert (*Carta dell' Italia Centrale*) as leaving the Via Latina at the Vigna Aquari, and running E.N.E. past the Molino S. Pio to the Via Labicana, which it reaches a little to the W. of Torre Pignattara. There are a few ancient paving-stones (not *in situ*) in the section between the Via Appia Nuova and the Via del Mandrione ; but I am inclined to think that it falls better into the line of the Vicolo dello Scorpione, which (though retaining no traces of antiquity) seems to correspond to the line of an ancient road, which would have passed through the Porta Metrovia of the Aurelian wall

In the Vigna Bartoccini (which was formerly the Vigna Aragni, but has changed hands within the last twenty years), situated not far from the bridge over the stream, many discoveries of tombs, sarcophagi, and inscriptions have been made. In 1884 a tomb chamber was discovered 8 m. below ground, measuring 2·50 by 3 m. and containing three sarcophagi adorned with reliefs (*Not Scav.* 1884, 424 ; cf. 1876, 89 ; 1878, 166 ; 1891, 199). Among the inscriptions found in 1891 was one which ran thus—*D. M. Cn. Domiti Primitivi qui vix. ann. vii. dieb. vii. fecerunt Domitiae Lavicana mater et Ianuaria avia et Cassianus pater et s[o]dales viae Lavican[ae]*. The *sodalitas viae Lavicanae* was obviously one of the burial clubs so common among the lower orders under the Empire.

The modern road now ascends in a curve. The ancient road ran straight, and about 50 yards N.E. of the modern road. Remains of its pavement and of the tombs and other buildings which lined it on each side may be seen in a pozzolana quarry about 200 yards beyond the Vicolo dei Carbonari: it is apparently running 40 degrees S. of E. Here was, in all probability, the Vigna Diamanti in which were made the discoveries described in *Bull. Inst.* 1842, 4: a columbarium, between which and the high road ran a "subterranean aqueduct"[1] about 2 m. high, cut in the rock. Between the aqueduct and the columbarium were seen traces of an ancient pavement rising towards the latter and probably serving as an approach to it. Here were found *C.I.L.* vi. 3199, 16955.

In enlarging this quarry, at a mean depth of 18 m. below ground level five wells were found, each 1 m. in diameter and over 20 m. in depth, with footholes cut in the sides to facilitate descent. They contained fragments of pottery and marble sculptures, among them the statue representing a satyr playing the flute, now in the Museo delle Terme, and also some unimportant fragments of sepulchral inscriptions (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 223; Helbig, *Führer*, ii. No. 1101). Further discoveries, including that of an *ustrinum*, are described in *Not. Scav.* 1885, 20.

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[1] It is possible that this was the specus of the Anio Vetus: for Lanciani (*Commentari di Frontino*, p. 49, note 1) states that in 1880 he saw in the Vigna Marescotti, on the left hand side of the modern road, the specus of a large aqueduct constructed in opus reticulatum with its sides covered with deposit, and which he believed to be the Anio Vetus. The same aqueduct was, however, discovered in 1882 near Porta Furba, in making the military road (*Not. Scav.* 1882, 271, cf. 66), and again in 1890, both in the cutting of the Albano railway (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 12) and close to the point where the railway to Naples crosses the Via Latina. (Its specus is still visible in the short tunnel which carries the railway under the Marrana Mariana.) It was, further, found 450 m outside the Porta Maggiore crossing the Naples railway at right angles, and then turning sharply S.E. at 45·40 m. above sea level. In this case it would have required arches to cross the valley of the Marranella, which it would have had to do twice, a proceeding for which there seems to be no sufficient reason, though it must be confessed that the direction which it takes (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 32) does certainly warrant this supposition.

The Vigna Marescotti-Colombo, just to the E. of this quarry, contains many fragments of sarcophagi in marble and terra-cotta. We now reach the third mile of the ancient road (the milestone, erected by Maxentius, was discovered in 1687: *C.I.L.* x. 6882). Just north of it is the Mausoleum, according to tradition, of Helena, the mother of Constantine.[1] It is known as Torre Pignattara from the earthenware jars (pignatte) used here, as frequently in constructions of the fourth century, to decrease the weight of the vault.

Only the N. half of the building now remains; when complete it was circular, with eight niches, alternately rectangular and curved. The entrance on the E. side took the place of one of the former. The roof was domed. The brickwork is of the early fourth century. See Canina, *Architettura dei Tempi Cristiani* (1846), tav. 96, pp. 121, 131. The large sarcophagus of red porphyry, now in the Vatican (Helbig, *Führer*, i. No. 326), was found within the building.

Within the area of the mausoleum is the small modern church of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, and below it are the Catacombs which bear the names of these saints (Marucchi, *Catacombes romaines*, pp. 208 sqq.). A bas relief found near the Mausoleum in 1728 was in the possession of Pier Leone Ghezzi (Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1882, p. 224, no. 66).

In the immediate neighbourhood of this mausoleum was the cemetery of the Equites Singulares. The inscriptions are given in *C.I.L.* vi. 3173 sqq. 3912 sqq.; *Not. Scav.* 1896, 525; 1898, 112. A fragment of a tombstone of one of them by the entrance to Torre Pignattara, bearing the following inscription, appears to be unpublished. Above the inscription is a relief, depicting a slave standing to the spectator's left, and a couch (on which the dead man was represented as reclining) to the right.

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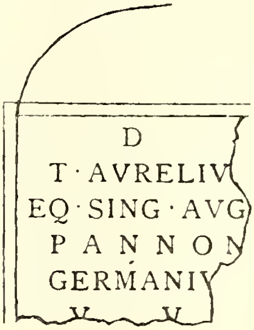
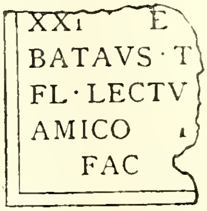
[1] The common tradition is represented by the *Vita Silvestri* in the *Liber Pontificalis*, by Bede (*De sexta aetate Mundi*), and by Nicephorus Callistus (viii. 31). The version according to which Helena was buried in Constantinople (Socrates, i. 17) rests on a misinterpretation of the expression used by Eusebius (vita Constantini, iii. 47), ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν. The *Liber Pontificalis* has (i. 65, ed. Mommsen): *Eisdem temporibus fecit Augustus Constantinus basilicam beatis martyribus Marcellino presbitero et Petro exorcistae inter duas lauros et mysileum, ubi mater ipsius sepulta est Helena Augusta, Via Lavicana, miliario* III . . . . . *qui sepulchrum est ex metallo purphyriticus exculptus sigillis.*

The name "inter duas lauros" as the name of an imperial domain occurs as early as the time of Tertullian, who (*Apol.* 35) speaks of those *qui inter duas lauros obsident Caesarem.* Marucchi (*Guiae des Catacombes romaines*, 213) publishes a graffito (the date of which is not stated) in which Helena is actually mentioned. It probably belongs to the sixth century or thereabouts.



D
T·AVRELIV
EQ·SING·AVG
P A N N O N
GERMANIV
V V

The late Henry Stevenson (see his MS. notes, now in the Vatican, f. 14) copied another fragment in the Vigna Marescotti Colombo, which runs thus:



XXI E
sic BATAVS·T
FL·LECTV
AMICO
FAC

Many other sepulchral inscriptions have been found in the neighbouring vineyards. Most of these are in *C.I.L.* vi. or Kaibel's *Inscriptiones Graecae Italiae*, but a few unimportant fragments have not apparently been noticed. The *recensus locorum recentiorum* of *C.I.L.* xiv. at times gives the numbers of the inscriptions published in *C.I.L.* vi. incorrectly, and is not always complete. Some unimportant discoveries made by Mgr. Ludovico Altieri in the tenuta of Torre Pignattara in 1830 are recorded in *Bull. Inst.* 1832, 4.

Fabretti (*De Aquis*, p. 30) states that a road diverging to the right just after Torre Pignattara, passing west of the Mausoleum of Alexander Severus (Monte del Grano) and falling finally into the Via Latina, was still traceable in his day. It is possible, however, that he is mistaken as he certainly got the idea of its existence from a probably false reading in Frontinus (i. 21), *Anio vetus citra iv milliarium, qua a Latina in*

Lavicanam itur, etc.; whereas Lanciani (*Commentari di Frontino*, p. 43), following Bücheler, has, *Anio vetus citra iv milliarium infra novum, qui a (Via) Latina in Lavicanam inter arcus traicit, et ipse piscinam habet.* In the vineyard to the E. of Torre Pignattara are the remains of two large tombs, one of opus quadratum, the other of concrete; the latter has foundations some 6 or 8 feet deep. The orientation of these gives the direction of the road as 40° S. of E., which corresponds with that found in the quarry 300 yards further back (p. 222), so that the road must have run straight up the hill, passing to the N. of the present one, and crossing it just W. of this point. This view, which was held by Nibby,[1] is borne out by the discovery of the pavement of the road in the Vigna Marescotti, 25 m. from the left edge of the modern road (*Not. Scav.* 1882, 113), by the remains of tombs, (including a travertine cippus, apparently *in situ*, which bears the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 14610), which are seen in the wall on the N. side of the modern road, and by the fact that beyond this point the pavingstones of the ancient road begin to appear under the houses on the S. side of the modern road.

A water reservoir was discovered in the Vigna Ojetti[2] in 1882 (*Not. Scav.* 1882, 113), and another in a tufa quarry belonging to the firm of Santini and Giacchelli (*Not. Scav.* 1887, 558). Where this last may have been is doubtful, as no further details of its position are given.

The Vigna de Santis, on the left, contains several sepulchral inscriptions. Among them, besides several published in the *C.I.L.*, I noticed a marble tablet with the following inscription:

D · M ·
C · GALER
PLACIDI/
CECINIA
AEGLE
CON · P

I also saw a white marble cippus, with urceus on the left and patera on the right, bearing the inscription:

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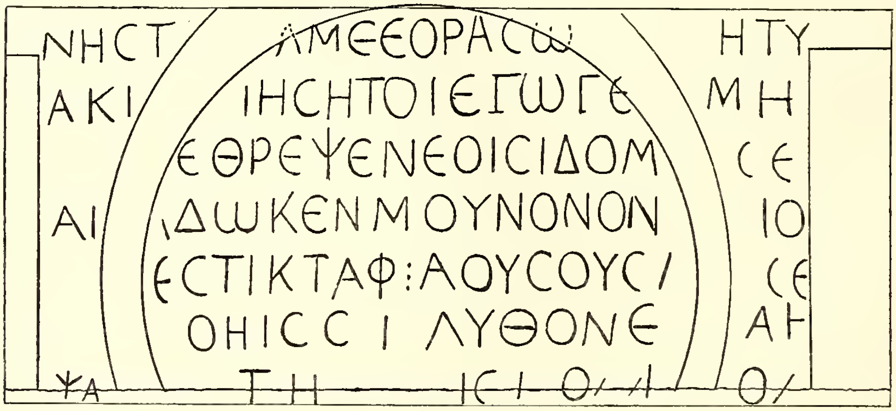
[1] It is stated by him in a volume of his MS. notes now in my possession.

[2] It is identical with the Vigna della Certosa, which lies on the S. side of the road, between the second and third (ancient) milestones. It is in this vineyard that the last arches (towards Rome) of the Aqua Alexandrina are seen (Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, 171).

C.I.L. vi. 10254: *d. m.* | *Ti. Claudio* | *Onesimo* | *viatori* | *collegi magni.* | *Cl. Zmyrna coniux.*

This inscription was copied by Jucundus in the sixteenth century, "in domo Prosperi S. Crucis" (near S. Maria in Publicolis, close to the Ghetto), but it does not seem to have been known by the compilers of the *Corpus* to be still in existence.

In the Vigna Massoli (the last to the right before the open country is reached) some extensive subterranean passages, excavated in the rock were discovered in 1881 (*Not. Scav.*, 1881, 320). They were lined with stucco and floored with hard cement, but as the walls of one of them were adorned with frescoes, they can hardly have served as water reservoirs, and their purpose must be considered doubtful. Built into the wall of the Vicolo Dogali, which turns off to the left about 500 yards beyond the Vigna de Santis, is a large slab of marble, bearing an unpublished inscription in Greek, with good lettering, which has been used as the pressbed of an oil mill, the inscription being partly destroyed.



There is also a travertine cippus, with the inscription:

INFRONTE
P·XIIII
INAGRO
P·XIIII

In the Villa Cellere (formerly the Villa del Grande) a fine subterranean tomb (probably Pagan) was discovered in 1838 (*Diss. Accad. Pont. Arch*

x. 43–124, *C.I.L.* vi. 24926, Marucchi, *Guide des Catacombes romaines*, 223). Here was also found the lead pipe, *C.I.L.* xv. 7412, *Aemilius Lucius fecit* | *Aureli Thessali Aug. lib.*

In the wall of the Villa Cellere is another travertine cippus with the inscription :

V · PVC
LICVMDERV
LIBERTEIS · TE
LIBERTAB\
A · LIVIVS · Ↄ . L . .
TABIANV
IN · AGRV · P · X

The cippus is broken at the top, and the surface weathered, so that the inscription is not easy to read. The lettering belongs to the first century B.C. Not far from this point the aqueduct of the Aqua Alexandrina must pass under the road, as at the crossing of the Fosso di Centocelle it reappears on the north of it.

A little further on, at the fourth mile of the ancient road, comes a sharp descent to the valley of the Fosso di Centocelle. The cutting of the ancient road is visible a little to the S. of the modern one, and on each side of it are tombs. On the N. a double tomb has recently been found ; a shallow grave cut in the rock, with a partition of opus mixtum dividing it into two. On the S. is a square brick tomb, with a round chamber above it. To the E. are the remains of two large tombs in opus quadratum, which give the line of the road as being precisely 25° S. of E. A sepulchral inscription published in *Diss. Acc. Pont. Arch.* Ser. ii. vol. ii. p. 42, mentions a tomb *quod est Via Lab(icana) sum(ma)* iiii. *ad MP*, the reference being to this point of the road, where the highest point coming out of Rome is reached.

We have now reached the Tenuta di Centocelle (the name extends to the land on each side of the road), the scene of important excavations and discoveries. Remains of a fine villa exist to the S. of the road to the E. of the parade ground (Piazza d'Armi). There are two fairly well preserved water reservoirs. One is a single chamber of opus reticulatum with later additions in rougher work ; the other consists of two chambers side by side, with two openings in the wall between them, and a third (square) chamber at one end, communicating with one of them by a pipe, possibly used for filtration, the whole standing upon vaulted foundations. Pirro Ligorio (MS. Bodl. f. 80′) gives plans of two water reservoirs situated three miles from Rome along the road, but they do not correspond with any buildings now existing, and may or may not be fictitious. He also gives (*ibid.* 114, 114′) plans of tombs on this road, to one of which he attributes the forged inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 241.*

Further E. is the apse of a church with eight windows. The style of the brickwork dates it as 5th century work, and this corresponds with the identification of this site with that of the suburban see of Sub Augusta or Augusta Helena, the bishops of which are mentioned in the records of the latter half of the 5th century (see Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 119, and *infra* p. 263). The latter name may indicate that the villa belonged to the Empress Helena, though parts of it are in origin of earlier date.[1] At the end of the last century excavations were made here, and some important statues and busts discovered which are now in the Vatican: the Thanatos[2] of the Galleria delle Statue, the (so-called) Adonis of the Gabinetto delle Maschere, the (so-called) Lycurgus of the Sala delle Muse, and the busts of Isis and of the youthful Lucius Verus in the Sala dei Busti (Helbig, *Führer*, i. nos. 189, 233, 264, 287).[3]

N. of the apse of the church, and close to the road, is the Casale di Centocelle, built into a circular brick tomb with domed roof and niches, of rough work and belonging to a fairly late period. Just at this point, close to the bridge over the stream, stood the tomb of the Haterii, the reliefs from which are now in the Lateran, and, representing as they do some of the buildings of the Sacra Via, are of great topographical importance (*Bull. Inst.* 1848, 97; *Annali*, 1849, pp. 363–410; Helbig, *Führer*, i. p. 515). To the E. is the Torre di Centocelle, a mediaeval tower of great height, built of chips of selce, tufa, and white marble, which evidently occupies the site of a Roman building. Near it are the foundations of a structure in opus quadratum, and to the S. of it, upon the ridge, are the remains of some unimportant buildings. On the opposite side of the road are remains of a tomb and a small water reservoir in opus reticulatum. A road (probably that marked by Nibby and Gell, though they fix its point of departure a good deal further W.) must have diverged northwards here, running towards the Via Praenestina: for above the W. bank of the stream, to the N. of the Aqua Alexandrina, the fine remains of which are seen crossing the valley on the left of the road, are some foundations of uncertain date (perhaps of a tomb), and to the N. a large villa in the ruins of which I found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 496 a, 2226,[1] and many paving-stones. No traces of the road are to be seen further N., and Nibby and Gell only mark it as running for half a mile from the Labicana.

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[1] In 1755 the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 631, 632, belonging to the collegium Silvani Aureliani (177 A.D.), the members of which were gladiators of different kinds, were discovered here. Their names and special performances are given in the first of the two inscriptions, which is the *album collegii*.

[2] This name is that given to the statue by Helbig: it is generally known as Eros.

[3] From a letter preserved in the Archives at Modena, and published in *Bull. Com.* 1898, 28, which bears date March 28th, 1787, we learn for the first time that these two busts were also found here.

The Staff Map gives the name "Ruderi di Centocelle" to some now insignificant remains S. of the aqueduct on the E. bank of the stream, to which, however, a small channel running from the great aqueduct may be traced, and at the point where it leaves the aqueduct are the remains of a reservoir, in which I found *C.I.L.* xv. 1007.

This was the site of the excavations of Guidi in 1866 (*Bull. Inst.* 1866, 170; *C.I.L.* vi. 1870 a, published also in *Bull. Com.*, 1874, 5). Several tombs were found, and a fine villa, the plan of which was unfortunately not taken. In it were two mosaic pavements, one representing a courtesan sitting with her lover, and two female servants, the other depicting comic masks. These mosaics were both inclosed in terra-cotta boxes filled with plaster, into which the cubes of the mosaic were set. A leaden water-pipe was also found, bearing the inscription:—L·LAETOR·ANNAEI·RVF (*C.I.L.* xv. 7484). A pavement of opus signinum had in later times been laid upon them (*Bull. Inst.* 1871, 269).

From the tombs came sixteen inscriptions (now preserved in the Capitol), and many brickstamps. Besides three copies of the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 454 a: *Apron(iano) et Paetin(o) co(n)s(ulibus) Pomp(oni?) Vit(alis) ex pr(aedis) Anni Veri Quint(ianis)* vel *Quint(anensibus)*, about seventy more stamps were found with the names of the same consuls (who held office in 123 A.D.), followed by the name of a slave, with hollow letters arranged in two straight lines. It is probable, therefore, that these latter stamps also belong to the figlinae Quintianae or Quintanenses (*C.I.L.* xv. p. 132). The brickstamps, with the sculptures, were bought by the Municipal Archaeological Commission in 1872 (*Bull. Com.* 1872–3, 91).

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[1] This stamp had previously been found only in the Alban Hills, and is therefore classed among the stamps belonging to bricks from that district in the *Corpus*. The discovery of this copy (which is upon a flange-tile) shows that these bricks may have been made nearer Rome. Another stamp giving the name of the same factory owner—(Annia Arescusa), *C.I.L.* xv. 1141—has been several times found in Rome itself.

Near Centocelle, on the left of the road, was found in 1758 an inscription (published by Dessau in *Eph. Epigr.* vii. (1892) p. 384) erected in honour of M. Atilius Severus, who was consul in the time of Commodus and exiled by him, by the Sodales Herculani.

11.—FROM CENTOCELLE TO TORRE NUOVA

(*from the Fifth to the Seventh Milestone*).

Shortly after passing the Torre di Centocelle the modern road turns slightly to the left as it ascends the hill. The ancient road seems to have gone on in a straight line, running through a cutting which is still clearly visible, and keeping fifty yards or more S. of the modern road for a mile and a half beyond this point. At the top of the hill we reach the site of the fifth milestone of the ancient road. To the S. of the road, at a distance of about 500 yards, are some ruins of an entirely mediaeval building, close to which, however, are the remains of a rectangular water reservoir of Roman date. Here, a year or two ago, a large number of amphorae (I was told 200 or so) were discovered.

Nearly a mile further S. is a tower known as Torre Spaccata, which is wholly mediaeval; but some way to the S. of it again is a lofty square mass of concrete, probably the core of a tomb. To the S.E. of the tower is a ruin called the Muraccio dell' Archetto, which is an apse of brickwork and opus reticulatum. Near it are masses of concrete, and there was probably a large villa here, as also at point 65 further to the N.

About 300 yards E. of the site of the fifth milestone, traces of tombs in opus quadratum are visible on both sides of the cutting of the ancient road. Only the large foundation blocks (in one case six feet long) remain, orientated with the line of the road. I was told, in fact, by a road-mender that bodies had been found there in October, 1899. The discovery (recorded in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 149) of a tomb inscription of the early Empire, in planting trees along the modern road, does not prove that it exactly follows the ancient here. The inscription was not found *in situ*, as it would seem, and even if it had been, the belt of tombs lining the road may well have been fifty yards wide; or the tomb to which the inscription belonged may have been erected on the line of a deverticulum. Pavingstones were, as a matter of fact, discovered at the same time.

The line of this deverticulum would be preserved by the modern track which runs W. of the "Ruderi delle Bisacce" (a large open water reservoir) and thence due N. An ancient road probably ran E., starting from this track a little N. of the Due Casaletti (two modern farm-houses); for here we have four tombs in line, one of which is a square chamber of opus quadratum. The blocks are of peperino, and one of them measures 2·50 × ·74 × ·75 m. Three courses of masonry, each ·75 m. high, are preserved, and there is a door near the S.E. angle. This road would have run some way to the S. of the Casa Calda, which is an entirely mediaeval ruin. Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. i., Tab. i., num. 8) marks a branch aqueduct from the Aqua Alexandrina passing W. of it, which probably supplied some villas further S. The inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1598 was found near Casa Calda by Rosa in 1856, close to an ancient rock-cut water reservoir, and is now preserved in the Villa Borghese at Frascati. It is cut on the epistyle of a marble monument. The first third is wanting, but it is almost certain that it is the sepulchral inscription of Nicomedes, the tutor of Lucius Verus. (See *Annali*, 1857, 86.)

On the S. of the ancient Via Labicana is the apse of a church, constructed of opus mixtum and facing E., close to which are remains of other buildings in brickwork of a late period. It is very likely that the name "Cappella di S. Maura," which upon the Staff Map is applied to the brick tomb referred to below, belongs in reality to this building. Excavations were made here in 1890, but led to little result, as the site was found to have been explored already (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 159).

Ficoroni (*Piombi*, p. 9, and tav. i. fig. 2) gives an illustration of a medallion found in 1724 in the hollow of the imoscape of a marble column four miles out of Rome (reckoning from the Porta Maggiore), on the right of the road.

The ancient road, as has been said, continues to run S. of the modern; the latter, at the top of the hill, cuts through the foundations of a villa, which appear on each side of the cutting. S. of it, but on the N. of the ancient road, are foundations of tombs in concrete, fragments of paving stones, and, at point 53, an elegant little tomb in ornamental brickwork, with a cornice of terra-cotta, not moulded but cut, and with loophole windows. In the cutting of the modern road through the next hill the walls of another villa are seen in each bank, proving again that the ancient road ran elsewhere.

Just E. of this, on the S. side of the modern road, is a trough (probably a water-trough) of concrete of selce, lined with hard cement, and apparently open to the air; it measures 5·82 × ·68 m. inside, and is about a foot deep, with walls ·34 m. thick. It runs W.N.W. and E.S.E., thus preserving the line of the road. A few hundred yards to the N. are some entirely mediaeval remains.

At this point was the sixth milestone of the ancient road. Keeping a straight line, it now crosses the modern road, and the tombs which lined it are seen in the field to the N. Some way N. of these again is a lofty mediaeval tower, and close to it the remains of a large building, perhaps a church. These ruins are called "Le due Torri." Excavations made hereabouts in 1890 proved fruitless, the tombs of the ancient road having been destroyed by mediaeval and modern constructions (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 159).

A few hundred yards to the S., in the direction of the Casale Carcaricola (Cardariola in the register of Cencius Camerarius: Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 239) is a large water reservoir with external buttresses.

The ancient road descends the hill in a straight line in a cutting, which may be seen on the S. of the modern road; the latter curves slightly to the left again, and recrosses the ancient line.

Turning sharply at the bottom of the hill, the ancient road passes over a very fine bridge, still in use and well preserved. It is constructed of opus quadratum of tufa, and the single arch measures 5·70 m. in span, and 6·10 in width. The bridgehead on the N. is particularly well preserved (Fig. 18).

Four hundred yards further on, corresponding with the site of the seventh milestone, is the large casale of Torrė Nuova (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 238) surrounded by a grove of pines (a rarity in the Campagna), and forming, as Nibby remarks, an oasis in the desert. The front of the central portion of the casale rests on an ancient building (apparently a tomb), faced with brickwork, in which are seen the thin bricks, with very thin layers of mortar between them, characteristic of the beginning of the third century, and in the courtyard some opus reticulatum may be seen. There are many architectural fragments of marble about; a fine piece of cornice in the garden just beyond the bridge may be noted. In the courtyard are several inscriptions: *C.I.L.* vi. 9182, and some others, copied and published by Tomassetti (*Bull. Com.* 1899, pp. 284–286). The discoveries in the tenuta have been many. Pier Leone Ghezzi, in a MS. in the Vatican (Cod. Ottobon. 3106 f. 166: see Schreiber, *Fundberichte des P. L. Ghezzi* in *Sitzungsberichte der k. Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, 1892, p. 142, nos. 67, 68) describes the sarcophagus with the myth of Actaeon, found here in 1738, which at first belonged to the Borghese family, and is now in the Louvre (Fröhner, *Notice*, no. 103). See also Ficoroni, *Labico*, p. 30 (= mem. 61 in Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. 148). Ghezzi also gives a drawing of a bronze female statue found here in 1742 (British Museum, Townley MS. f. 143: see Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1893, 166). A relief representing the education of Telephus or Artemis Kourotrophos (now in the Villa Borghese) was found either here or at Pantano in 1760 (Helbig, *Führer*, ii. no. 954). The inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 3606, 8443, 8498, 15018, and the great mosaic of gladiators (now in the Villa Borghese)

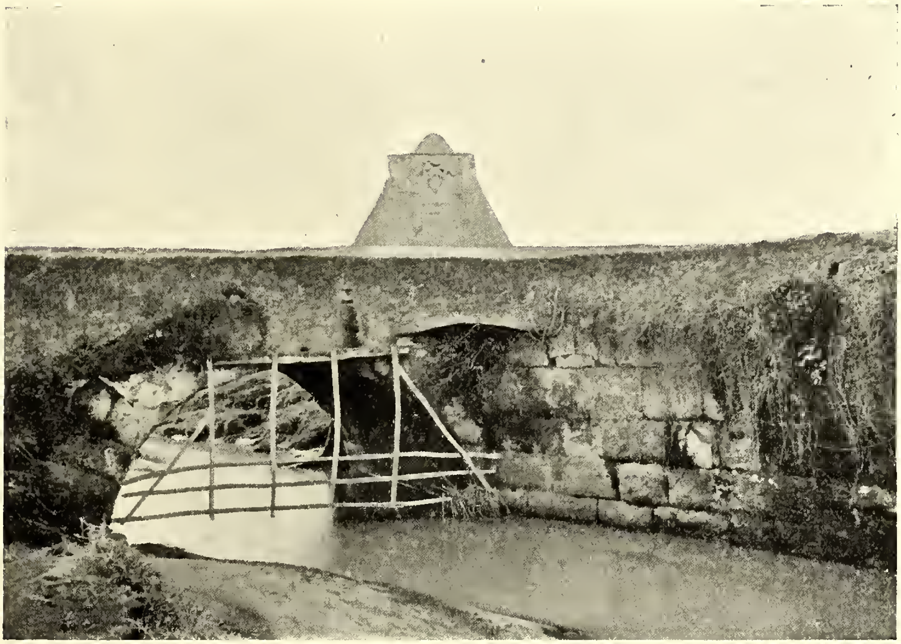
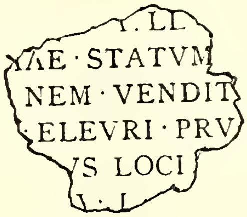


FIG. 18.—BRIDGE OVER FOSSO DEL GIARDINETTO.

discovered in 1834 in the Quarto called La Giostra[1] in the remains of a large villa near the E. edge of the tenuta (*Bull. Inst.* 1834, 193; 1846, 189: *Diss. Acc. Pont. Arch.* xii. 73, where a full description is given by Henzen: Helbig, *Führer*, ii. p. 124) also belong to this locality. Other unimportant excavations are recorded in *Bull. Inst.* 1863, 69; *C.I.L.* vi. 698 (a marble altar dedicated to Valentius Silvanus) was also found near here, also the unimportant cippus *C.I.L.* vi. 19981 a. Stevenson (MS. notes, *vol. cit.* f. 16′) gives the text of a fragmentary inscription found here, together with a marble relief representing hippocampi and cupids.



In this district was situated the ager Pupiniensis or Pupinius, from which the tribus Pupinia took its name. It lay between Rome and Tusculum, eight miles distant from the former, and upon the edge of the territory of the tribus Papiria, to which Tusculum belonged. It was in the ager Pupinius that Hannibal encamped, after leaving Gabii, when he marched on Rome in 211 B.C. (Liv. xxvi. 9. 12, Festus, p. 233, Müll.) Its sterility was proverbial (Varro, *R.R.* i. 9. 5, Columella i. 4, Val. Max. iv. 4. 4). It was here that Atilius Regulus and Fabius Maximus had their farms, according to the writers just cited.

In the eighth century this territory constituted the Massa Calciana spoken of in the Register of Cencius Camerarius, so that it continued to be an inhabited centre (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 238).

III.—FROM TORRE NUOVA TO PRATA PORCI

(*from the Seventh to the Eleventh Milestone*).

Up to the point we have now reached the modern road keeps fairly close to the ancient, but from Torre Nuova to San Cesareo, about the eighteenth mile from Rome, the two are entirely distinct, and there they separate again, after being within 35 paces of one another at one point (p. 266), and do not unite until the castle of Piombinara (p. 280) is reached, about 31 miles from Rome. The course of the ancient road has been in the past matter of controversy, and with it is connected the question as to the site of Labici,[1] which Strabo (v. 3, 9, p. 237) places on the right of the road upon a hill, at a distance of over fifteen miles from Rome (Λαβικανὴ ὁδὸς) . . . . *προέισιν ἐπὶ πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, καὶ πλησιάσασα τῷ Λαβικῷ, παλαιῷ κτίσματι κατεσπασμένῳ, κειμένῳ δ' ἐφ' ὕψους, τοῦτο καὶ τὸ Τοῦσκλον ἐν δεξιοῖς ἀπολείπει κ.τ.λ.*

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[1] Giostra means a large inclosed space (literally a jousting place or tilting ground).

In his day it was already destroyed, but was succeeded by a station on the road which ran below, called Labici Quintanenses or (by the Itineraries) Ad Quintanas, and situated near the fifteenth milestone. Of the six sites proposed for Labici, Zagarolo,[2] Colle dei Quadri,[3] and Valmontone,[4] are in any case impossible, as their distance from Rome is too great. Colonna, the site preferred by most writers,[5] could not be identified with it, unless the ancient road passed below and to the N. of it, whereas, as will be seen, it ran to the S. of it. There remain therefore, Monte Compatri [6] and Monte Salomone [7]; but, as will be seen, the evidence in favour of the latter is quite insufficient.

Before proceeding to follow the course of the ancient road, it may be convenient to describe very briefly that of the modern. That it follows, more or less, the line of some ancient road, is very likely. The district through which it passes, though at the present day absolutely desolate, was in Roman times covered with villas the remains of which are still traceable. Chaupy (*Maison d'Horace*, iii. 469) states that he saw the ancient pavement of this road *in situ* a mile beyond Torre Nuova. The fact that (as will be seen from the map) it serves in several places as the boundary between the territory of different communes and in particular that of Rome, is also significant. But the entire absence of tombs shows that it was of no great importance, and there is hardly a single place where it can be said to look like an ancient road. At several points, in fact, the cuttings by which it is taken through the hills are driven right through remains of villas, ancient drains, &c. After crossing the Ponte della Morte, however, it ascends and descends the hill between this and the Osteria del Finocchio by a deep cutting which, though much widened in modern times, may be in origin ancient. There are, too, remains of a fine villa on the S. side, which do not seem to have been cut through by the road. On the other hand, the appearance of a drain on the N. side is an awkward fact. At the Osteria del Finocchio it reaches an important junction of roads; the Via Cavona crosses it, and a road from the valley of Prata Porci also joins it here. On the S. of the road, near the Osteria, Cluverius (*Italia antiqua*, p. 956) saw *qua Tusculum versus ascenditur, vestigia quaedam in lenissime adsurgentibus tumulis veterum murorum aedificiorumque. Haec ego . . . . Gabiorum reliquias esse iudico.* (In this he is of course entirely mistaken.) Beyond the Osteria, Ficoroni (*Labico*, 30), who wrote in 1745, states that he saw the workmen who were repairing the modern road, excavating the pavement of the ancient road on its left, and using the stones for the new one.

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[1] This is the orthography adopted by most Latin writers (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 274).

[2] Cluverius, *Italia antiqua*, p. 947; Kircher, *Latium*, p. 120.

[3] Ficoroni, *Labico*, Bertarelli, *Labico*. The name Labico was only given to Lugnano in the year 1880, Ficoroni's erroneous theory being thereby sanctioned.

[4] Alberti, *Italia*, p. 144; Biondo, *Italia Illustrata* (ed. 1543), p. 102; Kircher, *Latium*, pp. 71, 72 (though on p. 120 he rejects this site in favour of Zagarolo).

[5] See (among others) Holstenius, *Ad Cluver.*, p. 194; Fabretti, *De Aquis*, 175; Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 157; Gell, *Environs of Rome*, 280; Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, p. 79.

[6] Capmartin de Chaupy, *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 174; Rosa, *Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154; *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 275.

[7] Vitale, *De oppido Labici dissertatio* (Rome, 1778).

As far as the Osteria the road has run fairly straight, ascending gradually, from Torre Nuova. It now descends sharply into the wide basin of Pantano (" the swamp "), and then, skirting the edge of the hills which bound it on the south, ascends again steeply (174 m. in 4500) from the Ponte di Pantano to the Osteria della Colonna. Shortly after the ascent commences the remains of a large villa are seen on the right (at point 74 on the map).

A little further on, at point 109, on the same side of the road, are the remains of a water reservoir, and below it, overlooking the valley to the W., the ruins of another extensive villa, in which may still be seen a round furnace with four apertures communicating with a square chamber surrounding it, from which the hot air was distributed by pipes, two in each angle. The brickstamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 599 a) belong to the time of Hadrian. Here or hereabouts (nel quarto del Corvio dalla parte di Pantano) was found a lead pipe bearing the inscription T·STATILI(us) FELICIO FEC(it) *C.I.L.* xv. 7868b. Armellini, *Cronachetta*, 1892, 81.

On the opposite side of the road is the Laghetto della Colonna, which has by many authors been held to be the Lake Regillus. I have tried to show that it is not in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, pp. 109–114 (a short summary is given in the *Classical Review*, 1898, 470). That it is not merely a modern quarry is shown by the fact that the remains of a very large villa, which dominate its N. and E. sides, follow the curve of the cliffs. To the E. of it, and S. of the summit of the conical hill called Monte Falcone (perhaps from Q. Pompeius Falco, who in this case may be assumed to have been the proprietor of the villa: Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 188), are the remains of a large water reservoir with two parallel chambers. Monte Falcone is entirely composed of selce (hard lava), which the engineers of the Roman aqueducts were at great pains to avoid. The Anio Novus and Claudia, and probably the Marcia, travelled at a sufficiently high level to be able to pass E. of the hill without much tunnelling; but the Anio Vetus, the level of which is here some 150 feet lower, is taken round the E., N., and W. sides of the hill, making a very long circuit, in order to avoid even the shortest tunnel through the hard lava.

A few hundred yards beyond the Laghetto an ancient deverticulum falls into this road from the S., descending probably from the Via Labicana near the fifteenth milestone, though its course is not certain beyond Le Marmorelle. Along this road was probably found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2780 (cf. *Bull. Inst.* 1856, 156).

About a kilomètre further on is the point where the Anio Novus must cross the road. Remains of it, at the ground level, are visible in the fields to the N.—part of the specus and several putei. A little further E., to the N. of the Casale delle Cave, a small stream has been dammed in ancient times by a curving wall built of large rough blocks of selce.

This dam measures 3·00 m. wide at the top, broadening rapidly towards the bottom. Probably there was a small hole in it for the passage of the stream; and the object of the dam was, very likely, to protect the aqueducts. N.E. of this are considerable traces of pavingstones, some perhaps *in situ*, of a road running a little W. of N., probably from the Osteria della Colonna towards La Pallavicina. Along the course of this road are two or three water reservoirs, in which was no doubt collected the water from the springs which lie a few hundred yards N. of the Osteria, and feed the Acqua Felice. The road mentioned as leaving the Via Praenestina at Cavamonte also runs to the Osteria della Colonna; and yet another ancient road is that which approaches the Osteria from the W., descending from the Via Labicana near the fifteenth mile, and skirting the western and northern slopes of the hill on which the village of Colonna stands. Where it turns eastwards it passes the remains of a large villa, with two platforms supported by substructures one above the other, in which were found a Mithraic relief, some columns, and the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2772 (*Bull. Inst.* 1864, 92; 1865, 266; *Bull. Com.* 1872–3, 270). Finally, it is probable that an ancient road descended from the Via Labicana on the E. side of Colonna also, though not following precisely the line of the modern road which runs here, as the latter cuts through the remains of a water reservoir half-way down the hill, but keeping perhaps a little further E. There are some paving stones in a field wall to the W. of the Casale Altieri, which may have belonged to this road. The water reservoir is probably connected with the ancient villa in the Altemps property, in which in 1871 was found the sepulchral inscription: *C.I.L.* xiv. 2779. Fabretti (*De Aquis*, map opposite p. 90) marks this road.

The Osteria della Colonna was, therefore, in ancient times an important meeting point of roads, an additional argument for the antiquity of the Via Casilina.

After the Osteria the road passes a large villa on the hill to the N. It presents no features of particular interest, and ascends gradually to S. Cesareo (p. 266).

It is now necessary to return to the real Via Labicana, which we left at Torre Nuova. The first to identify the true course of the road was Capmartin de Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 173), though the indications given by him are meagre. The rediscoverer of the road as a whole was Rosa, whose results are published by Henzen in *Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154. The account of the course of the road, though absolutely correct, is unfortunately very brief and unaccompanied by a map, the result being that the line given by Kiepert and Dessau (who accept Rosa's view) in the map at the end of *C.I.L.* xiv. is very far from being the true one, showing that Rosa's description was not carefully verified on the spot before the construction of the map (cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 275). So far as straightness goes, a point upon which Dessau lays stress, the ancient road has very little advantage over the modern one. The view expressed by me in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, 111, is vitiated by the same misconception. It may be mentioned in passing that some of those authors who place Labici at Colonna make the road diverge to the right from the modern here, but fall into it again not far from the Laghetto della Colonna (Fabretti, *De Aquis*, Diss. i.

Tab. i.; Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 631, ii. 165; Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, 79). The first indication of the course of the road is a tomb about 600 yards E. of Torre Nuova, called on the military map "Il Torrione." This is a large brick tomb, in two stories; of the upper chamber little is left, but the lower is almost complete. Its entrance faces about 16° E. of N., so that it stood on the N. side of the ancient road (the entrance being from the back, as a rule, in tombs of this construction), and on this side there is a kind of porch. The chamber is lighted by loophole windows in each of the other three sides.

A hundred yards S. of this, and on the S. side of the road, lies a large water reservoir (called "Il Caminetto" from a modern chimney built upon it) divided into three aisles, the cross-vaulting of which is supported by four pillars of opus mixtum. There are remains of buildings to the N. of it, and excavations were made here in 1890 (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 159), in the course of which, though the ground had obviously been already explored, some fragments of marble statues and part of a mosaic representing a Nile scene were found, besides a complete column of Carystian marble (4·70 m. in length, 0·60 m. in diameter) and some fragments of other columns which still lie there.

The track of the road from the Torrione to the stream seems to be clearly traceable in the grass, running E.S.E. There are a few paving stones apparently *in situ*, and many lying loose.

To the N. of the road, and just above and to the S. of the modern road, lies the Ara delle Sette Miglia, a conical hillock, on which are remains of some mediaeval building. To the N. of the modern road are the remains of a large villa, marked erroneously by Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. i. Tab. i.) as "aquaeductus."

After crossing the stream the road turns more to the S. The paving stones of the ancient road are visible in places on the ascent to the top of the next hill. In the course of this ascent we pass the site of the eighth milestone. Upon the top of the hill is a group of tombs, of most of which the foundations only remain, all orientated to correspond with the line of the road which here runs S.E., except one on the N. side orientated N.N.W. and S.S.E. which may point to the existence of a deverticulum at this place (perhaps that mentioned on p. 176).

The road now keeps to the top of the ridge, and after passing over the aqueduct of the Acqua Felice, another group of tombs is reached, mostly in a state of almost complete dilapidation. They were, as a rule, of concrete and brickwork, often decorated with marble. S.W. of the road are the Grotte Celoni (which, according to the view of Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 239, derive their name from Fabius Cilo, the friend of Septimius Severus), both of which are single chambered water reservoirs, one constructed of opus reticulatum, baked bricks and quoins of tufa, and the other of brickwork and of opus mixtum. Excavations made here in 1890 (probably among the tombs which line the road) resulted in the discovery of a few sculptural fragments; but the site had been already explored (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 159). To the S. beyond the Fosso del Cavaliere, lies the Passo del Lombardo which may be identified with Prato Lombardo, to the N. of which, or above which ("sopra"), in the tenuta of Torre Nuova, the statue of Helios, now in the Louvre, was discovered in 1769 (see *Ragionamento di Clemente Biagi sopra un' antica statua scoperta nell' Agro Romano* (1772), avviso ai lettori, p. 6. Fröhner, *Notice*, no. 415.).

The traces of tombs continue beyond the Grotte Celoni. About 500 yards on is a well on the S.W. side of the road, about 1 m. in diameter, cut through the tufa to a depth of about 20 feet, and provided with foot-holes. Just beyond it is a fine piece of the pavement of the road *in situ*, the width of which cannot be accurately determined.

Here is the site of the ninth milestone, and here the Via Labicana turns sharply to run a few degrees N. of E., passing N. of a large circular mound, the remains of the concrete foundation of a tomb which forms the W. side of a large ustrinum, placed in the fork between the Via Labicana and a road of some importance (to judge from the solidity of its construction and from the remains of the tombs which flanked it), which continues straight on, running due S.E. at first, and then near the remains of a villa at point 105[1] turning slightly to the S., until it reaches the Via Cavona. At the place where it fell into this important road (see p. 176) its direction is 20° E. of S. and its width 2·50 m. This is, be it noted, the spot where the boundary of the Agro Romano crosses the Via Cavona. Its course after this is not quite certain; there are many paving stones between this point and the large villa known as Grotte Dama, but they are mostly *in situ*, and belong to a road running 30° S. of W. to join the Via Cavona. Beyond this I have not been able to trace it. It is most probable, however, that its continuation is to be found in the road (into which, if prolonged, it would fall) which skirts the E. bank of Pantano Secco, and ascends to the cemetery of Frascati, and thence onwards, passing close to the avenue of the Villa Borghese, and W. of the Villa Mondragone, to Tusculum.[1]

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[1] Here was found the fragmentary inscription published in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 36.

It may even be suggested that this road running straight on to Tusculum was the original road, and that the Via Labicana was constructed afterwards. On any other theory the sudden sharp turn of the Via Labicana is very hard to account for, as the country which the road passes through presents at this point no difficult problems of engineering. After the sharp turn the road descends slightly, and then ascends through a cutting to the top of the next ridge, reaching as it does so the boundary of the Agro Romano which it follows fairly closely for some distance. Upon the top of the hill the pavement is again clearly visible. The "Torraccio" (point 99) is not a mediaeval tower (there is no trace of mediaeval work about it), but a water reservoir of Roman date. Such errors are not at all uncommon in the Italian staff maps, not to speak of far graver and not less frequent errors of omission, when extensive ruins, visible for a considerable distance, are not even marked on the map.

To the S. and S.E. of this reservoir upon the edge of the hill overlooking the road there was apparently a large villa. We found bricks (one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1174 a, of 134 A.D.) and cubes of a mosaic pavement. Along the ridge further N.W. are traces of buildings (brick and marble) and many paving stones, so that it is not impossible that a deverticulum ran along the ridge and fell into the Via Labicana here.

The road now descends the hill, passing S. of the "Torraccio," and crosses the two branches of the Fosso di Tor di Bella Monaca about twenty yards to the S. of their junction. Its pavement is seen in good preservation in the smaller (W.) branch, and also the traces of a (comparatively) modern bridge, and some of its pavingstones are seen in each bank of the larger stream, but most have been washed further down. The exact line taken by the road in crossing is determined to be E.S.E. by a mass of rock squared to form the base of a tomb which stands on the N. side of the road, a few yards back from it and close to the E. bank of the stream. The road still follows the boundary of the Agro Romano, until the top of the hill is reached. Here the boundary turns sharply southwards, while the road keeps on E.S.E. Precisely at the site of the tenth milestone we reach the Catacombs of St. Zoticus, the history and full description of which are given by Stevenson in his *Cimitero di Zotico* (Modena, 1876). The catacombs are placed *in fundo Capreoli milliario X* by the Martyrologies (*ibid.* p. 15). They are quite wrongly located in the map given in *C.I.L.* xiv. Stevenson (p. 88) tells us that in the excavations of 1850 the pavement of the road was discovered in front of the entrance, at a distance of about 10 m. (*ibid.* p. 24). The catacombs are in a deplorable state, entirely rifled, with the loculi all empty (*op. cit.* p. 12). To the S.E. of them, on the top of the hill, are heaps of marble and brick, belonging to a villa, or perhaps to some building connected with the catacombs. An inscription found in the catacombs (*op. cit.* p. 36), which may be assigned to a date not earlier than the eighth nor later than the twelfth century, speaks of the erection of a portico with a tower; and we know that in the twelfth century there was a church here, dependent upon the abbey of Grottaferrata. Their origin is probably due to their proximity to the ager Pupinius (p. 234). (Cf. De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1873, 113; Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 97.)

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[1] I owe my knowledge of the existence of the last section of this road to Padre Grossi-Gondi.

Beyond the catacombs the road continues to run E.S.E. for a short distance, and some remains of the brick tombs lining it are visible. It then turned somewhat sharply almost to the E.N.E. and descended to cross the small stream (the exact place cannot be determined, but probably it was just where the two branches unite), and then began to ascend again to the road known as the Via Cavona (p. 176), just before crossing which it passed close to a large brick tomb (which apparently had a portico in front of it) which faces 28° E. of S. Here was found the sepulchral cippus of L. Tarius Speratus, published by Tomassetti in *Bull. Com.* 1895, 281. Several fragments of marble from tombs lie scattered about here. On the E. side of the Via Cavona the boundary of the Agro Romano, separating it from the tenuta di SS. Apostoli (cf. Rosa in *Bull. Inst.*, 1856, 154), returns to the Via Labicana, and follows it for nearly a mile until the Fosso di Prata Porci is reached. The field wall which marks the boundary is full of the pavingstones of the road, and just N. of it, on the W. slope of the hill, is a travertine block, with a shallow depression 4 feet square cut in it, which perhaps served to hold the base of a sepulchral cippus.

At point 114 is a water reservoir, and the Torraccio di Forama, further N. still, is built upon another—a single chamber of considerable length, with the sides supported by buttresses.

IV.—FROM PRATA PORCI TO AD QUINTANAS

(*from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Milestone*).

The site of the eleventh milestone is about 100 yards to the W. of the Fosso di Prata Porci, almost due N. of the ruins of a large building on the hill, probably a water reservoir, which is marked on the military map as "SS. Apostoli." On the S. side of this hill, above the Valle della Morte, are the remains of several villas. Furthest to the N.W., on the top of a mound marked in the map 132 m., are extensive remains of concrete foundations and opus reticulatum walls, with fragments of marble and brick. Two of the latter bore the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1026 a, (circa 123 A.D.), 2272 (first century A.D.). To the S. are two well-shafts cut into the rock to some considerable depth, and further S.E. is a water reservoir on the top of the hill. Further up the valley again, close to the point where the aqueducts of the Claudia and Anio Novus cross it (the subterranean channel of the former is now occupied by the stream for a short distance, one of the original putei being still in fair preservation, while the piers of the bridge of the latter still remain), are traces of a villa. I saw a fine marble cornice and some terra-cotta water (or hot air) pipes embedded in plaster. Here was found a marble tablet bearing the following inscription in badly cut letters 2 cm. high. The inscription, which has been since published in *Not. Scav.* 1901, 327, I copied on the spot.

D M
FECIT · BATI *sic*
NIANVS · F
RATI · SVO · A *sic*
GATHOPO
BENEMERE
NTI · QVIVIB *sic*
IXIT ANNIS

On the hill above the villa is a large water reservoir, consisting of many small short interconnected passages hewn in the rock, which is coated with strong cement. A similar reservoir exists in a fine state of preservation in the centre of the upper platform of the large Roman villa in the garden of the Villa Doria at Albano.

From the crossing of the Fosso di Prata Porci the line of the road is marked by another field wall built of its pavingstones, until it reaches the track from the Osteria del Finocchio to Prata Porci, which is, in all probability, an ancient road, many of its pavingstones having been used in the field wall which flanks it.[1] It is possible that on the W. side of the gorge which leads to the valley of Prata Porci there was another ancient road, as here too the field wall is full of pavingstones.

The valley of Prata Porci, which lies about half a mile to the S. of the road, is a large basin, evidently of volcanic origin. It has by some authors (Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, 67, Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 171 (note), 227, 259, 261) been identified with Lake Regillus—an identification which I have attempted to disprove in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, 118 (cf. *Classical Review*, 1898, 470). The basin has two outlets, one on the N., another on the W., through both of which run considerable streams; and the various discoveries made in the bed of it, which are described in my article cited above, render it extremely improbable that it was a lake in historical times. Among these discoveries is that of the remains of a large thermal establishment described by Tomassetti in *Not. Scav.* 1897, 458; *Mittheilungen*, 1897, pp. 83–85. It was apparently constructed in the first century A.D., the columns being of peperino coated with stucco, and rebuilt or added to in the second. I found among the remains the brick stamp[2] *C.I.L.* xv. 1174a, of 134 A.D., and Novius Crispinus, whose name occurs on some lead pipes which were discovered here, was consul-designate in 151 A.D. (*C.I.L.* xv. 7843). Pipes have also been found here bearing the inscription SER OCTAVI LAENATIS PONTIANI (consul A.D. 131,

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[1] Padre Grossi-Gondi informs me that he has traced this road onwards in a S.S.E. direction, passing between the Villa Mondragone and the large Roman villa known as Le Cappellette (not to be confounded with the villa mentioned below on p. 260, which lies S. of Monte Compatri). The inscription on a waterpipe found here (*C.I.L.* xv. 7822), *Matidiae Aug. fil.* leaves it uncertain whether this villa belonged to the older or the younger Matidia.

[2] I also saw here the lip of a *dolium* bearing the following stamp, which I published in *Rendiconti dei Lincei loc. cit.*

corona. nux pinea

caduceus

T · VETTI · C · F · ARN
∗ CLEMENTIS ∗
STEPHANVS · S · FEC ·

ramus palmae

nux pinea. corona

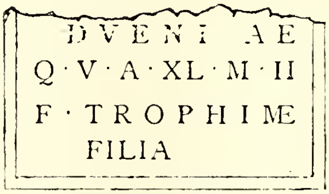
On the side of the dolium the following numbers were scratched: XXXIIII K VII, showing that the capacity of the *dolium* was 34 amphorae 7 heminae.

C.I.L. xv. 7845), and Tomassetti (*Mitth. l. c.* cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 7844) mentions the discovery on this occasion of pipes bearing the name of Octavius Laenas, who, according to Dressel, may have been his grandfather. Statues of some considerable importance were also found here, including one, 0·70 m. in height, of a new type of Apoxyomenos (*Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1897, 30), the fate of which I do not know. It may be noted that the identification (founded on the discovery of these lead pipes bearing the inscription NOVI CRISPINI) which Tomassetti proposes between this spot and the *fundus Crispinis et amonetis Via Labicana miliario plus minus XIIII.* (or *XIII.*—Martinucci, *Collectio Canonum*, p. 324) *ex corpore massæ Fistis*, mentioned in the register of Gregory IX., must be rejected, unless the text of the Register is to be altered, the true distance from Rome being only a little over eleven miles.

More important is the fact that the two bridges of the aqueducts of the Claudia and the Anio Novus are visible side by side, crossing the stream which runs through the middle of the valley, while the stream which passes through the outlet on the W. runs, as we have noticed (p. 243), through the actual specus of the Aqua Claudia. The remains of the aqueducts in this district are in fact of great interest, and up till now unnoticed by topographers; but to attempt to go into detail would lead us too far from the matter in hand. A short preliminary account of the results of our explorations appeared in the *Classical Review* (1900, 325).

The course of the road after the point where we left it cannot be fixed with absolute precision, but it evidently curved round the foot of the Colle S. Isidoro, passing not far S. of the Casale Corvio (perhaps at the point of junction of the two branches of the Fosso di Fontana Candida), which occupies a commanding position, and rests in part upon ancient concrete foundations belonging, probably, to a Roman villa. A very large one certainly existed about half a mile to the N.N.W., at the point where the road from the Casale joins the cart-track from Prata Porci to the Osteria del Finocchio. To the S. of the road, on the slope of the hill, are traces of other villas. Two small water reservoirs are still in existence, and much brick and marble lies scattered about. One of the bricks bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1244 a (end of first century A.D.).

After crossing the western branch of the Fosso di Fontana Candida, the road rose slightly, passing by a large tomb of opus quadratum with white marble facing, of which traces still exist. On the top of the hill, above the road, are the remains of the mosaic pavements and marble decorations of a large villa. The road skirts the slope beneath this villa and enters the Vigna Sciarra. Here remains of tombs give its direction as 20° S. of E. One of these is a block of tufa *in situ*, measuring 0·8 m. in depth, 0·70 in width, and 0·41 in height (so far as preserved), and bearing the following inscription in letters of the third or fourth century 0·05 m. in height.



DVENI AE
Q·V·A·XL·M·II
F·TROPHIME
FILIA

Another block of tufa, also *in situ*, at a distance of some 20 yards further N., has precisely the same orientation. In the vineyard were found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 633 a, 515 a (the latter of 134 A.D.), coming probably from tombs.

We are now at the mouth of the deep valley of the main Fosso di Fontana Candida. Somewhere in this valley (probably near point 138) must have taken place the discovery of a quantity of lead waterpipes, described by Stevenson (MS. cit. f. 2′) as having occurred in 1886 on the left of the path from Fontana Candida to Corvio, at the point where the pavement of a deverticulum from I Trugli (p. 247) had recently been destroyed.

In the stream, under a small bridge built entirely of fragments of paving-stones and chips of marble, is a marble cippus, measuring 1·13 × 0·40 m. Any inscription that may have existed has, probably, been long since obliterated by the water. A little further up, the pavement of the road is visible *in situ* in the W. bank of the stream, running 35° E. of S. It turns still further S. (I saw the pavement *in situ* a year or two ago, running nearly due S.: it has since been removed), passing the site of the twelfth milestone, and then turned again (the exact point is marked by a square tomb of concrete). At this point (138 m. above sea-level) a road diverges to the E., of which more will be said later. To the N. are the remains of a villa, near a new house, with a large system of underground passages for water storage. In a small stream still further N.E., and W. of the villa at point 126, I found a fragment of a brickstamp /EST/.

The Via Labicana ran 30° S. of E. over the shoulder of the hill, descending again into the Valle dei Trugli. In this valley there is an interesting group of tombs, in fine preservation, the orientation of which determines the direction of the road to be 25° S. of E. Some are of concrete, others of opus quadratum. The latter are hardly preserved above

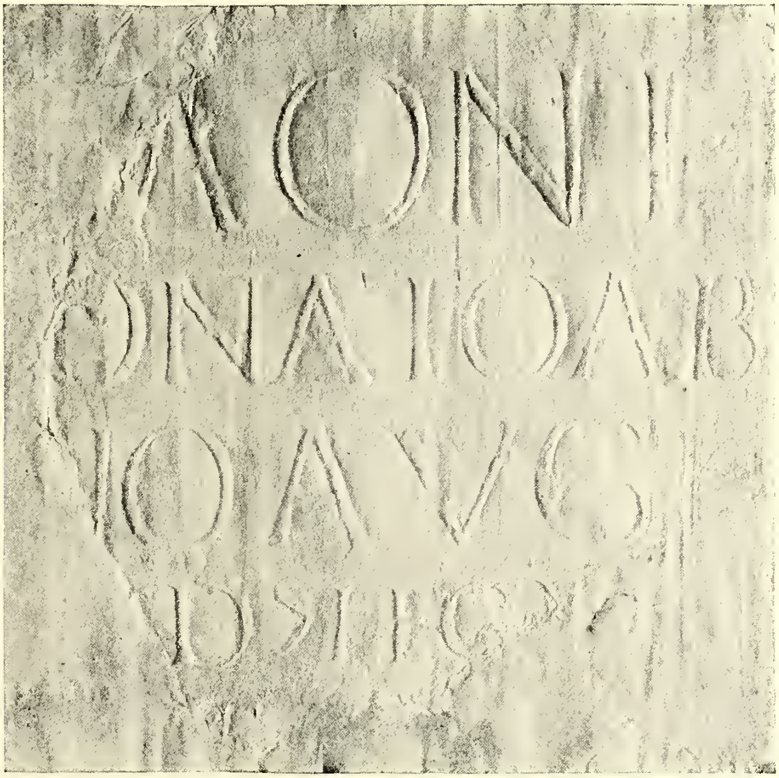


Fig. 19.—Inscription from I Trugli. ($\frac{2}{7}$ of actual size.)

the foundation level, the large blocks of which they are built having been removed for use elsewhere; but two of the tombs of concrete are quite conspicuous and have given their name to the place.[1]

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[1] Truglio or Trullo means something circular: hence the name Lo Trullo, given to the great round tower where the Aurelian walls start from the left bank of the Tiber, to run towards the Porta Flaminia. These tombs were originally square, at any rate at the base, but have now become rounded masses.

I saw in 1901 an inscription (Fig. 19) which was found here.[1] It is carved upon a slab of white marble, and is only a small fragment of the whole, as it is complete at the top and on the right hand, and only a portion of the cognomen remains in the first line. It may be perhaps restored as follows: [*donis militaribus d*]*onato ab* [*imp. Caes. T. Fl. Vespasia*]*no Aug.* . . . . [*>leg. v. Mac*]*ed>leg x.* The lettering is particularly fine—the form of the G is rare in the first century A.D., but not unknown; cf. Hübner, *Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae*, prolegomena ad litt. G, who cites an African inscription of 30 A.D. (no. 233), an inscription from Pompeii (no. 335), and another from Spain (no. 426), both of the time of Vespasian, and one from Rome of the time of Domitian (*C.I.L.* vi. 8798). With this inscription was found (so I was told) a gold ring weighing 29 grammes.

There were also found here three lamps, all undecorated above, but bearing stamped inscriptions on the bottom: (*a*) FORTIS (*C.I.L.* xv. 6450), (*b*) C·OPPI·RES (*C.I.L.* xv. 6593), while the third bears the stamp of a foot. Further, the fine bronze plummet reproduced in Fig. 20 was discovered here. The original is in the possession of Professor F. W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, U.S.A., to whom I am indebted for the use of the drawing.

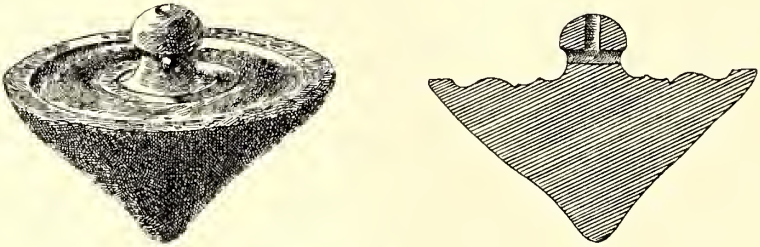

FIG. 20.—BRONZE PLUMMET FROM I TRUGLI. (¾ of actual size.)

From this point a deverticulum ascends extremely steeply to the S.W.; its pavement is well preserved in places. On reaching the top of the hill it is crossed by another ancient road running S.E. There were naturally numerous by-roads in this district, affording intercommunication between the villas with which, as a glance at the map will show, it abounded. Upon the hill above I Trugli are the remains of a villa in opus reticulatum with stone quoins, which was richly decorated with marbles.

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[1] The photograph reproduced was taken from a paper squeeze. The inscription has been published in *Not. Scav.* 1901, 327, from a copy of the same squeeze, which I gave to Prof. Tomassetti.

The specus of the Claudia and Anio Novus are at this point just on the S. of the road, which soon (at any rate before the E. branch of the Fosso della Forma Rotta[1] is reached) crosses them. Both are below ground, the specus of the Claudia being accessible, while two putei of the Anio Novus are to be seen. The Marcia and Anio Vetus crossed this valley about a kilomètre further N., after the union of its two branches. A puteus of the former exists on each bank of the stream, the W. bank of which is in several places supported by a wall of large polygonal blocks, so as to protect the aqueducts, which either crossed it at a low level or passed just beneath its bed.

From the Valle dei Trugli the road ascends somewhat sharply to the site of the thirteenth milestone. Its pavement was fairly well preserved for the greater part of the distance up till 1900, when it was destroyed. About half a mile to the N. lies Torre Iacova, a mediaeval tower crowning the N. extremity of the Colle Mattia, which forms the centre of an important group of remains.

The whole of this hill has recently passed under cultivation, and this has led to the discovery and destruction of many ancient buildings.[2] Close to the site of the thirteenth milestone a group of tombs has been discovered, with many architectural fragments of white marble, including a Corinthian capital 0·38 m. in diameter at the top, and 0·26 at the bottom (Fig. 21).

Not far from this point, in a vineyard, Stevenson found, in July 1890, the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2269 (*T. Quincti* | *Q. Suavis*), and, "in a vineyard wall near the tombs of the Via Labicana at Forma Rotta" (is the reference to I Trugli?), a fragment of a curved stamp ST·M·̄·

The road referred to as diverging to the E. just after the twelfth milestone reappears[1] in two branches on the W. side of the Colle Mattia, both ascending to it from the stream which descends from the Valle dei Trugli. Another ancient road apparently diverged to the N. from the northernmost branch, but is not traceable beyond the tower. Nor can either of these roads be followed with certainty further E., though it is not unlikely that they ran to the Colle della Lite, which is also covered with the remains of villas, while the aqueducts of the Marcia and Anio Vetus tunnel under it. Another road probably ran S. along the ridge to join the Via Labicana at the thirteenth mile; the existence of a large tombstone, resembling those described on p. 175, may serve as an indication. (See also p. 252).

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[1] The name ("broken aqueduct") is significant.

[2] While these papers have been in progress, further agricultural operations have led to the discovery and destruction of remains of various buildings and of the specus of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus. The brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 2343 (1st century A.D.) and a fragment of an unpublished stamp ▭ Λ ▿ T ▿ 7̸ . . . were discovered. The lettering of the latter stamp is good and of an early type: the points are triangular.

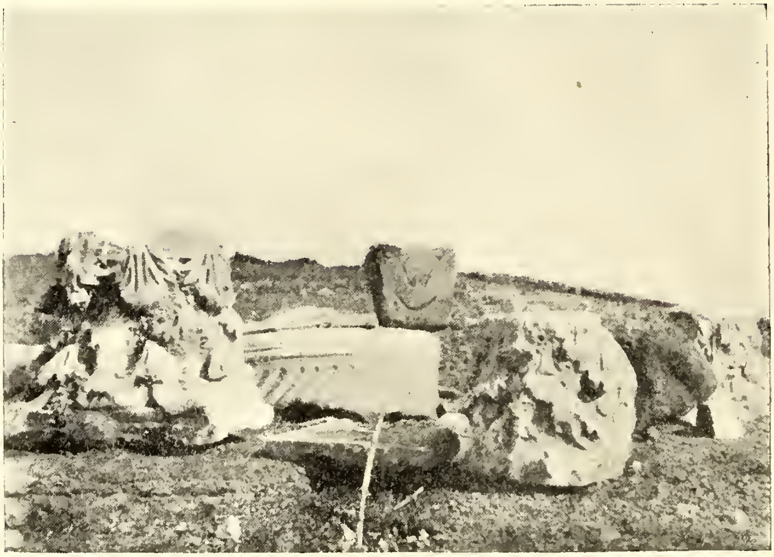

FIG. 21.—ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS AT THIRTEENTH MILESTONE.

Turning to the remains on the hill of Torre Iacova, we have, to the W., at point 155 on the map, a water reservoir of late date, built entirely of concrete made with masses of aqueduct deposit, and faced partly with bands of brickwork. To the W. of this a round water reservoir, about 10 m. in diameter, was discovered in the spring of the year 1901. I was informed that the floor was still perfect, and still retained water, and saw terra-cotta supply pipes which had been found running westward from it. Close by I saw the lip of a dolium bearing the following (unpublished) inscription stamped upon it :—

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[1] The pavement of both these roads, which I saw in 1900 in fair preservation, has recently been removed.

FABI · C · F ▭

The lettering is good.

To the N. in the vineyard are traces of a villa, among which was found a tomb of late date formed by a gabled roof of tiles, one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 706 (134 A.D.). Close to Torre Iacova was also found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 515a (134 A.D.).[1] To the E. is a tomb, orientated E.S.E., of concrete faced with brickwork which still contains the marble plugs which were used to hold the marble lining slabs firmly. Beyond these again are the remains of a villa rustica in opus quadratum and selce concrete, among which were found two brickstamps : *C.I.L.* xv. 2346, and a fragment ANNIVE ... (hollow letters), which may belong to either *C.I.L.* xx. 454, 479a or 806b (cf. 1875), and dates from the time of Hadrian.[2] To the S. of this is a water reservoir in the side of the hill.

The extensive view obtainable from the site may explain the frequency of buildings here. On the E. slope of the hill are remains of a different character. There is a large platform facing E.S.E., formed on three sides by a wall of rough, irregular blocks of selce, apparently of somewhat primitive construction, and below it are traces of a similar wall, possibly belonging to an ancient road. Above the platform are one or two walls of opus quadratum running up the hill, also traces of concrete and mosaic pavement. It is possible that the earlier remains are those of a primitive settlement, but their meaning is not very clear.[3] If there was an ancient road running N. and S. here below the platform, it would unite with the

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[1] To the N. of the tower, lying by the path, I found *C.I.L.* xv. 1408 : I do not know the precise point at which it was discovered.

[2] On my last visit I found here another stamp (see *Not. Scav.* 1899, 50)

▭ M · FVL
Σ O S

also part of the side of a dolium marked LXVIII in letters 85 mm. high.

[3] It is worthy of remark in this connection that Michele Stefano de Rossi (*Secondo Rapporto sugli studi paleoetnologici*, p. 16 from *Giornale Arcadico*, 1878, vol. lviii.) mentions the existence of a neolithic station in the neighbourhood of Torre Iacova. I acquired in 1901 a small axe-head of greenstone, said to have been found at the mouth of the Fosso di Fontana Candida a mile further W., and was told that many similar fragments had been seen in the vineyard. It is also noteworthy that in the E. bank of the Fosso della Lite, close to the bridge of the Aqua Marcia, a rock-cut tomb is to be seen.

Labicana at the thirteenth milestone. Its existence is, however, rather doubtful. Upon the Colle della Lite, to the E. of Torre Iacova, are the remains of several villas, none of which present any features of particular note.

The thirteenth milestone marks the meeting place of one or two roads. The existence of a road running from Torre Iacova southwards along the ridge of the hill is made practically certain by the discovery of pavingstones on the E. of the large reservoir, close to the thirteenth milestone (see below), and there may have been another skirting the eastern slope of the hill; while there was almost certainly a third road (the pavingstones of which are to be seen in the field-walls, though none perhaps exist *in situ*) following the Claudia and Anio Novus in an easterly direction.

At the thirteenth milestone the register of Gregory IX. mentions a "fundus Crispinis et amonetis, Via Labicana milliario plus minus xiii., ex corpore massae Fistis," belonging to the patrimonium Lavicanum, perhaps identical with the "massa Festi praepositi Sacri cubiculi territorio Penestrino" given by Constantine, with the massa Gaba, to the baptistery of the Lateran (*Lib. Pont.* i. 55 ed. Mommsen). Stevenson (*Cimitero di Zotico*, p. 98) notices that not far off (below Monte Doddo, which lies some two miles to the S.E.) an inscription of a (Vale)rius? Priscus (. . . .)lius Festus aed. pleb. Cer(ialis) quaestor urbanus was discovered (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2768), and, citing an inscription found in the Catacomb of St. Zoticus of a certain Refrigerius, set up by his father Refrigerius and his mother Valeria Sebera Laeontia (*sic*), supposes that the Valerii owned property in the district.

The Via Labicana itself now turns almost at right angles, and runs 30° E. of S. for a short distance. Its pavement is here easily traceable, though not for the full width. Just on the E. of it is a large rectangular water reservoir open to the air, to the N. of which are the traces of a villa, among which were found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 515a (134 A.D.), 617, 1318, 2350a and a fragment of a lunate stamp, with only one line of lettering, bearing the following letters

RCIPIRRI

(Mar)ci Pirri

while to the S. is an extensive system of small passages, 3 feet in width and about the height of a man, cut in the rock and cemented, which served for the storage of water. The road soon reaches the Macchia (or brushwood) di Fontana Candida. One branch of it, perhaps the original road to Labici, runs straight on, crossing the railway nearly a mile W. of Monte Compatri station, where its pavingstones may still be seen, having been only recently removed. It continues to go southwards, as Rosa pointed out, and Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 174) before him, past Monte Mellone[1] and the ruins at I Pallotta which, though largely mediaeval, are built upon ancient foundations,[2] until it reaches the valley between Monte Porzio Catone and Monte Doddo, where it turns eastwards and winds up, to Monte Compatri (p. 260) which, as we shall see later, is in all probability the representative of the ancient Labici.

The Via Labicana,[3] (a piece of the paving of which is *in situ* just inside the wood, besides which many pavingstones may be seen in the field-wall), after running 35° E. of S. for a short distance, and passing between two tombs, the concrete foundations of which still exist, soon turned again sharply and crossed a small stream by a bridge, a good deal of which is preserved. The direction of the road was here 10° S. of E. The bridge was quite small, almost a culvert, but built of massive opus quadratum, and seems to have been 5·70 m. wide. After crossing the bridge it again turned and ran 20° S. of E. up the hill, at the top of which it turned E. again (a piece of pavement is visible *in situ* here), and ran in this direction down the E. slope of the hill. The field-wall which marks the boundary of the wood is full of the pavingstones which have been removed from it.

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[1] Upon the N. slope of Monte Mellone there is a very large water reservoir constructed in opus reticulatum, sunk below ground, 41·85 m. in length, divided into two aisles, each 5 m. in height and 3·30 m. in width, by a partition wall 0·89 m. in thickness, pierced by eleven arches, each 2·35 m. in height and span. Further down the hill, on the north-western slope, are the remains of the villa which it supplied—a platform supported on the W. side only by a wall, in front of which is a large cryptoporticus in opus incertum.

On the E. side of the road are the remains of a villa, broken up to facilitate cultivation, and some fragments of a very large inscription (the letters are well but not deeply cut, and are 17 to 18 cm. in height), cut upon white marble blocks 20 cm. in thickness. Too little remains to give any clue to the subject of the inscription as a whole—not even one whole word can be restored.

[2] *See* Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, p. 210; *C.I.L.* xiv. 2925. These ruins are upon the N. of the modern road from Frascati to Colonna; but the house on the S. of it is also built upon the remains of some ancient structure. It is doubtful whether the ancient road from the Macchia di Fontana Candida to Monte Compatri ran E. of this house, as the modern path does, or W. of it; the latter alternative seems more probable. It may even have descended straight to C. Statuti, taking up the line of the boundary of the Agro Romano (cf. p. 195). The further question arises whether the remains on each side of the modern road from Frascati to Colonna belong to the same group, which would make the antiquity of this latter road extremely doubtful. The present road is, in many places, of recent construction, the older road having degenerated into a path. At the point under discussion, however, the two coincide. Interesting remarks on the subject by Stevenson are to be found in his MS. notes—*vol. cit.* f. 23—of August 21st, 1890. He considers its antiquity improbable, as it appears to him to pass between buildings belonging to a single group, not only at Pallotta, but a little further W., to the S. of Casale Statuti, where there are the remains of a large water reservoir on the S. of the road, and of the platform at a villa on the N., both orientated in the same direction. In a field-wall near the reservoir Stevenson found part of a rectangular brickstamp DVARI. It seems possible that the ancient road may have run higher up. Stevenson himself discovered such a road running parallel to the modern one, but could not trace it further than the large villa known as Le Cappellette (p. 260). Its direction, however, is such that, if prolonged, it would have joined the Via Labicana at Ad Quintanas. The existence of some artery of communication, corresponding to, though perhaps not identical with, the modern road from Frascati to Colonna, is practically certain.

[3] Capmartin de Chaupy mentions the pavement of the road as existing in this wood in his day.

The removal of the undergrowth of the Macchia with a view to the use of the ground for cultivation (the trees had long disappeared) has led to the discovery of the remains of buildings on the S.W. of the road, including a piece of a marble cornice from a round mausoleum. Among the bricks was the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 494 a (123 A.D.). It is curious and characteristic of this particular road that no cutting of any sort has been made to give it a more level course, but that it runs upon the surface of the ground. Where the Macchia ends in a point the road leaves it and runs along a bank forming the boundary between two vineyards, in which its pavement may be seen. After this point it crosses the valley (here it is followed by the boundary between the Agro Romano and the territory of Monteporzio), and follows a line still marked by a fieldpath to the pointsman's cottage W. of the station of Colonna. The fieldwall at the side of the path is full of the pavingstones of the road, which must have been in perfect preservation not so very many years ago.

The fourteenth milestone fell between this point and the railway station of Colonna.[1] Here there must have existed a church of St. Hyacinthus, inasmuch as we find in the Martyrology (*Cod. Bernensis*, 4th August). *Via Lavicana milliario ab Urbe xiiii. nat(a)lis s(an)c(t)i Sachinti* (sic). (Stevenson *Cimitero di Zotico.* p. 94).[2] A deverticulum which must have left it in the Macchia may be seen running S.S.E. on the W. bank of the Valle Pignola, just N. of the railway. It probably ran S., along the line still followed by a fieldpath to I Pallotta, though I know of no certain traces of it, and was in fact told that it turned sharply to the E. to rejoin the Via Labicana. Traces do however exist of a road on the S. of the line running 30° W. of S. in the vineyard N. of the villa described on p. 253, n. 1. Close to the road on the N. side of the line is a block of selce (a material rarely used for this purpose) bearing the following inscription in letters 6 cm. high

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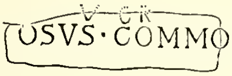
[1] The distance between the 14th and 15th milestones is a trifle too great on the map. This is due to some inaccuracies in the military map, which were only discovered when my map was already drawn, so that complete correction was impossible.

[2] There was also on this road a Catacomb of the SS. Quattuor Coronati, the locality of which is unknown (Stevenson in Kraus's *Realencyclopädie*, ii. 113).



About 500 yards still further W. is a piece of pavement on the S. edge of the railway, and about 15 feet above its level, while 100 yards further W. are several more pavingstones, not *in situ*, but apparently removed from an ancient road discovered when the railway was made.

The Via Labicana is crossed by the railway just W. of the station of Colonna, where its pavement was discovered in 1891. (*Not. Scav.* 1891, 35.) It is described as being 6 m. in width, with the margins well preserved. On the left were found the remains of columbaria, on the right large blocks of marble from the base of some tomb. Remains of the tombs which flanked it may still be seen in the banks on each side of the railway and in the adjoining vineyards (a brick tomb which existed N. of the station has been only recently destroyed). The road was running, apparently, almost due E.

About 500 yards E. of the station the railway cuts through a water reservoir, considerable remains of which may be seen on its N. side; close to it in the cutting is a rock-cut drain. On the S. side of the railway-cutting is a two-storied tomb. The lower chamber is 3·55 m. square inside, faced with opus reticulatum; the upper part is also square, and was perhaps a solid mass of concrete. All these buildings are orientated on the same line, and perhaps indicate the direction of the road, which may have passed just S. of them, as 40° S. of E. Its exact course is however uncertain, as the vineyards through which its line now passes have been long under cultivation, and all traces of the road itself have been destroyed. Rosa (*Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154) traced the road as going precisely in this direction, between the vineyard of Mgr. Pentini (the Casale Pentini is called in the Staff Map Casale S. Paolo) and the vineyard "di Gesù e Maria," which is now the property of Signor Eugenio Ciuffa, and known by his name. The Casale Ciuffa occupies the site of a large villa of opus incertum, largely restored in the third century A.D. with brickwork and small stones, upon the remains of which it is built. To the N. of it is a lower platform, carried on vaulted substructures. Excavations made here in 1882 are described in *Not. Scav.* 1882, 416; 1883, 85; 1884, 157; and *Bull. Com.* 1884, 207. The villa had four terraces and faced E. The first terrace had a cryptoporticus 140 m. long, the second formed a rectangle 100 × 30 m.; the third contained a water reservoir of 90 × 15 m., while the fourth terrace had a portico supported by buttresses in opus incertum. Two male busts, one representing the orator Lysias, the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1327, 2328b, 2329 (beginning of the second century A.D.), 2340 (probably the first century A.D.), and the lead pipes *C.I.L.* xiv. 2775, 2776 (= *C.I.L.* xv. 7862, 7871) were found in the course of the excavations. The former bears the inscription, *A. Fabius Parami*[*tius fec*], the latter *C. Vetienius* .... It is wrongly stated in *Not. Scav.* 1882, 416, that both inscriptions occurred on the same pipe, which is said to have been found *in situ*, built into the wall of a circular piscina 10 m. in diameter. Two inscriptions are built into the walls of the Casale, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2770, 2782.[1] The exact locality of their discovery is unfortunately unknown—had this been certain, the controversy as to the site of Labici might have been satisfactorily settled in Fabretti's time, for, while both are sepulchral, the text of the first of them runs *D.M. Parthenio arcario reipublicae Lavicanorum Quintanensium.* It is obvious that the *respublica Lavicanorum Quintanensium* can be nothing else than the municipality of the roadside station Ad Quintanas, mentioned by the Itineraries as the first station on the Via Labicana, 15 miles distant from Rome, which took the place of the destroyed hilltown of Labici,[2] situated, according to Strabo (*l.c.* p. 235), a little more than 15 miles from Rome, on a hill on the right of the road. Recent discoveries have, however, finally decided the question. Some 700 yards E.N.E. of the Casale Ciuffa is the concrete core of a very large tomb. The upper part is round, while the base is square, and gives the probable direction of the Via Labicana as 12° S. of E. at this point. There is a sepulchral chamber in the upper part of the tomb, but the only entrance is from the top, through a narrow shaft 20 feet deep.[1] Just to the E. of this tomb, in the Vigna Moretti, there was discovered in 1899 a marble base, now preserved in the municipal museum at Frascati, which bears a dedicatory inscription to the Emperor Maximian from the *ordo Labicanorum Quintanensium*.[2] The base had, however, previously served for other uses. Upon the front there are traces of an earlier inscription consisting of 16 lines, most of which was obliterated to make room for the later ; while on the left side are (probably) the names of the consuls of 196 A.D., C. Domitius Dexter ii. and L. Valerius Messalla Thrasea Priscus, and of the *quattuorviri iure dicundo* of the municipality. The base originally supported a statue, the lower part of which (if not the whole) appears to have been cut out of the same block of marble, as the pedestal of the statue coalesces with the upper part of the base. The difficulty of deciphering the two successive inscriptions of the front of the base is increased by the fact that the whole was erased after the *damnatio memoriae* of Maximian, while the lateral inscription was much damaged by being fixed against a wall and covered with mortar. The text is given by Tomassetti in the *Bullettino Comunale* for 1899, 289, and repeated in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1900, 50. His reproduction of it is unsatisfactory only in that he does not distinguish the letters which belong to the two inscriptions ; and a very careful examination of the original has not enabled me to decipher more than he has done. I have, however, given my own copies, as they present some slight differences.

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[1] With 2770 was found the brickstamp, *C.I.L.* xv. 462 c (from the praedia Quintanensia, which were situated not far from the station Ad Quintanas: see *C.I.L.* xv. p. 8), also the Greek inscription Kaibel *I.G.I.* 1011, which mentions a grove sacred to the Muses, a statue of Venus, a statue of Domitian (Villa Albani), and a bust of Lucius Verus, and three others. See Vitale, *De oppido Labici dissertatio* (1778), p. 36; *Lettere di Winckelmann*, ed. Fea, iii. 247–251; Cavaceppi, *Raccolta d'Antiche Statue*, i. 2, Stevenson, *Cimitero di Zotico*, p. 93 (who cites a letter of Lami, dated May 15th, 1758a). The inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2773, 2783, were also found here, and the fragments *ibid.* 2767, 2771, 2778. In the *Lettere di Winckelmann*, ed. Fea, iii. 246, there is a notice of excavations in the Borghese property at Torre Verde (which I have not been able to locate) in which were found many fluted columns of marble and granite.

[2] Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 275, note 5) denies, but on insufficient grounds, the theory, advanced first by Ficoroni, that the site of Ad Quintanas was different from that of the old town of Labici.

Of the first inscription I could read hardly anything, except in the last 5 of the 16 lines, which run thus :

SC P COIL TO
ST T X NT
EX O
BAT DIOLVABATIANO
FRATRI · L · D · D · D ·

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[1] Tomassetti (*Bull. Com.* 1899, 288, *Not. Scav.* 1900, 50) gives a fragment of an inscription in travertine, with letters 22 cm. high, which may have belonged to this tomb.

[2] This is most probably the meaning of the abbreviation Q.Q.

The inscription on the side I read thus:

K·IVNIS (June 1st, 196 A.D.?)
DEXTRO·II·C
TRASIOH / SS
NESTHL·BAE
SINCHAERONI
IIII VIR

The second inscription of the front I read thus:

L·T[1]
MAXIMIANO· S
INBICTO
ORDO LABICAN
Q·Q·
·D·N·M·Q·EIVS

The topographical importance is, however, certain; and it is further to be noted that many pavingstones of the ancient road were found when this base was discovered,[2] and also blocks of sperone (*lapis Gabinus*), slabs of marble, cornices, &c., attributed by Tomassetti, with some measure of probability, to the Forum of Labici Quintanenses, which must have been, like Fidenae in Imperial times (see *Not. Scav.* 1889, 108; *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 453), a small roadside village at the junction of several by-roads with the highroad. Rosa noticed some remains of water reservoirs here, destroyed since his time to serve as material for the vineyard walls, which are full of bricks, masses of concrete and opus signinum, paving stones, &c.

The distance of the large mausoleum from Rome, following the line of the Via Labicana, is only just over 15 miles, so that it is practically certain that the site of Labici Quintanenses has at last been discovered. From this it follows that Labici must be placed on the hills to the S., and its identification with Monte Compatri is almost unavoidable. Rosa (*l. c.*) mentions two ancient deverticula leading to Monte Compatri, one of which leaves the Via Labicana near the Casale Ciuffa,[1] the other a little to the E. of the large tomb. To these may be added a third, which I have traced on the south side only of the modern road from Frascati to Colonna, and which runs parallel to the first-mentioned, and rather more to the W. On its W. side, at a point where it leaves the modern highroad, there is the platform of a villa[2] built of polygonal blocks of selce, a style of construction which is far commoner in the district of Tivoli than in the Alban hills, while in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome it is unknown (p. 148). There it is a survival of an earlier style: here, though the polygonal style was used in the earliest times (p. 251), selce being the material employed, the existence of tufa, sperone, and peperino, all of them capable of being easily worked into rectangular blocks, soon led to the adoption of opus quadratum in its stead. Where this style of construction occurs in the Alban hills, therefore, in buildings of Roman date, it must be regarded as a mere imitation, intended probably for decorative purposes.

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[1] Tomassetti ascribes the T in the first line to the first inscription.

[2] In the time of Capmartin de Chaupy it would seem that some of the pavement was preserved *in situ* just on the W. of the large tomb. *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 174: "une des traces plus manifestes traversant un petit chemin à côté de la villa Pazzolini [la Pasolina]...dans la vigne dans laquelle il se perd...un Tombeau qui n'étoit pas de la dernière classe."

On the E. side of our road the remains of a large water reservoir were noticed by Stevenson (*l. c.*). Fragments of marble, brick, &c., from the villa to which it belonged may be seen in the dry walls which flank the high road. Higher up the same side is the Casale Mazzini, which probably rests upon ancient foundations, and in the vineyard attached to it are fragments of a building of opus quadratum of sperone, including a column 40 cm. in diameter.

At the Casale Mazzini there are a large number of pavingstones, and also at the chapel on the path we are following; and a little higher up are several *in situ* on the E. side of the path. We soon reach the remains of a large villa, which probably lay on the eastern edge of the ancient road. The villa was of brickwork. A pavement of black mosaic is actually cut through by the modern path.

The Casale Brandolini, a little further up, on the E. side of the modern path, is built upon an ancient water reservoir circular in shape, constructed upon a very curious plan and in an extremely good state of preservation. Outside are fragments of marble and brick.

The course of the road after the Casale Brandolini is doubtful, but it probably followed the modern path along the E. slopes of Monte Doddo (upon which, as far as I have been able to discover—and Stevenson's testimony bears me out—there are no ruins whatsoever), and on the S. of it joined the road from the Macchia di Fontana Candida and Pallotta to Monte Compatri (p. 253).

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[1] Another deverticulum ran from about this point northwards, passing through the vineyards of Le Marmorelle to the modern Via Casilina (p. 237), while another, probably diverging from it and not from the Labicana directly, ran eastwards, skirting the northern slopes of the hill on which the village of Colonna stands (*ib.*).

[2] There is much brick lying about. I also saw a drum of a tufa column 0·46 m. in diameter.

We may now turn to the first of the two roads described by Rosa. In the neighbourhood of the Fontana del Pischero are pavingstones which may have come either from this road or from the Via Labicana. It must have passed just E. of the Casale Ciuffa, and thence it ascends due southwards: a large number of pavingstones are to be seen in it, not *in situ*. About 250 yards from the modern highroad, and on the E. of the path, are the remains of a very large villa, known as Le Cappellette, and consisting of a huge wall supporting the earth on the N. and W. sides. There are eight niches on the N., one at the N.W. angle, and four on the W. These last vary in height according to the slope of the ground, which rises steeply towards the S. so that while the last but one measures 2·80 m. from the floor to the spring of the arch, the last measures only 1 m. The niches have floors of opus signinum, as if they had contained fountain jets; the one at the N.W. angle has in fact, a channel (0·14 m. wide) of tiles to protect a water-pipe.

Upon the platform itself no buildings are traceable, but there are many fragments of marble, painted stucco, &c.; and Stevenson saw pavingstones (not *in situ*) along the vineyard paths towards both the Colle di S. Andrea and La Pasolina. He also noticed, near a hut not far off, the drum of a marble column 0·16 m. in diameter, a fluted pilaster, 0·25 m. in width, and a brick bearing the well-known stamp OP · DOL · EX PR M AVRELI ANTO | NINI AVG N PORT LIC (*C.I.L.* xv. 408d). Close to this point our road is joined by the path from Pallotta mentioned above (p. 253, n. 2). Hence it ascends to Fontana Laura where it is joined by the second of the two deverticula mentioned by Rosa. This at present retains no positive traces of antiquity. At the house at point 281 on the W. of it are many pavingstones, the provenance of which is uncertain, and also the large marble drum of a column, some bricks, &c. After the Fontana Laura the path continues in a straight direction for some way, and then turns slightly to the W. and begins to ascend the hill known as the Salita del Romitorio,[1] leading to the cemetery. About half-way up this hill is a wall in opus quadratum, about 100 yards long, running E. and W., serving as a supporting wall to the vineyard above it. Five courses of masonry are visible, and more must be concealed behind the accumulation of earth. The blocks of the second, third, and fourth courses from the bottom are respectively fifty-four, sixty, and sixty-eight cm. in height, and the stones (which are arranged as stretchers only) vary in length from 1·40 to 2·15 m. The N.E. angle of the platform has fallen away, but the wall on the E. side of it may still be traced. The masonry is extremely neat, and the wall is probably nothing but the supporting wall of the platform of a large villa or, possibly, of a temple, though it may appear unnecessarily massive for this purpose. Upon the platform we saw the capital of a column in tufa 0·45 m. in diameter, with an abacus 0·60 m. square and 0·09 m. high. That it should have anything to do with the fortifications of Labici is quite impossible. It is situated a good deal too far down the hill, and the style of the masonry (Fig. 22) and the size of the blocks are not

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[1] Vitale, (*op. cit.* pp. 22-24) refers to this road as a Roman road, and states that it starts from Le Marmorelle.

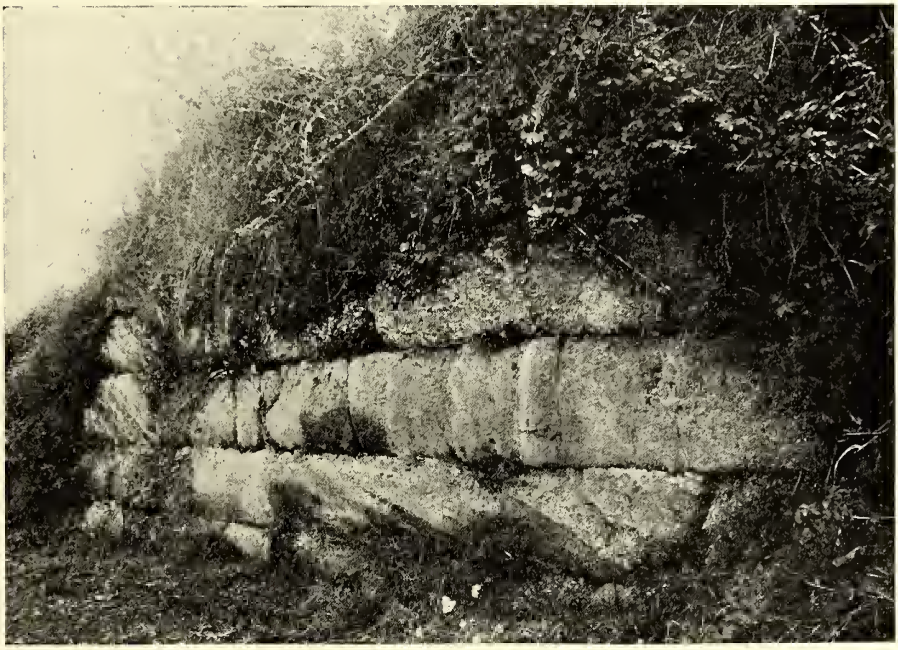

Fig. 22.—Wall below Monte Compatri.

those of the period to which such fortifications would have belonged.[1] Remains of the city walls did, however, exist in Rosa's time at the top of the Salita del Romitorio, just below the modern village, the construction of which was compared by him to that of the Tabularium at Rome and of the walls of Ardea and other early Latin cities. They were destroyed when the modern cemetery was constructed, but several of the blocks may be seen in the cemetery wall and in the bank of earth supporting the path which runs below it. Three which I took at random measured 71 × 59 × 33 cm., 47 × 46 cm., 70 × 36 cm., but whether these are the exact original dimensions is of course doubtful.

The village of Monte Compatri contains no traces of antiquity except a cippus built into the front of a house in one of the streets to the S. of the Piazza Romana, which bears the inscription *Deverticulum privatum* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4231). This cippus was found in the cellar of the house into which it is now built. The pavement of the road to which the inscription refers, which was that ascending from I Pallotta (p. 253) was also discovered, but was destroyed. See Tomassetti, *Mus. Ital.* ii. p. 503.

Stevenson copied, in August 1890, over the door of No. 53 Via del Mercato, the following inscription on a cinerary urn (?) of marble,

D · M ·
MACROTHYMIAE

The inscription was surrounded by a rectangular border and the lettering was extremely good. He also notices the existence in the village of a few unimportant ancient fragments.

In the vicinity of Monte Compatri was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2781.

At Caricara, half a mile from Monte Compatri towards Colonna, was found the sepulchral inscription of Iulia Iusta (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2784).

Besides the two roads just mentioned, which leave the Via Labicana near Colonna to ascend to Monte Compatri, another ancient road (which is perhaps the original Via Labicana) ascends direct to Monte Compatri from the thirteenth mile of the road (p. 253). It is possible, too, that the road between Monte Compatri, Monte Porzio and Frascati, is ancient ; Nibby conjectured that this was the case (*Schede*, i. 63). Whether the name of the village may legitimately be derived from "Compitum," a name which would belong rather to the station Ad Quintanas, is doubtful ; but if so, it may be noted how absolutely the name of Labici has perished. Cicero (*Pro Plancio*, 9, 23) mentions it, with Bovillae and Gabii, as in such decay as hardly to have a representative to send to the Feriae Latinae, while Strabo calls it *Παλαιὸν κτίσμα κατεσπασμένον* (v. 3, 9, p. 237; cf. 3, 2, p. 230, where he ranks it with Collatia, Antemnae, and Fidenae among old *πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κῶμαι κτήσεις ἰδιωτῶν.* See *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 274–5).

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[1] Further N.W. are traces of another villa in opus reticulatum.

In the list of the Bishops attending the council of 313 A.D. we find the name of the Bishop of Quintana or Quintiana (*i.e.* of the Labicani Quintanenses). After this time we find no mention of such a bishop, but from 649 until 1111 we hear of a Bishop of Labici (the see is doubtless the same) to whom Tusculum was also subject. In the twelfth century there is a fluctuation between Labici and Tusculum as a title of this bishop, and after 1111 the latter prevails. The interval between 313 and 649 may be bridged by supposing that Sub Augusta (p. 228) was, during this period, the titular church of this bishop. See Duchesne, *Arch. Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1892, 497.

To the S. of the village, on the path up to the convent of S. Silvestro, are the remains of a water reservoir. At the convent (which may, or may not, stand on ancient foundations) is preserved in the sacristy the inscription published by Raggi, *Colli Albani*, p. 131.[1] It is a Latin sepulchral inscription transliterated into Greek. A mile to the S. of Monte Compatri is the lofty hill called Monte Salomone (773 m.), identified by Francesco Antonio Vitale (*De Oppido Labici Dissertatio*, Rome 1778), with the old Labici. The grounds for this identification are quite insufficient. The hill is not, like Monte Compatri, approached by a large number of ancient roads, and shows no signs of having ever been the site of a city, for which it does not offer sufficient space. On the S.W. slope are fragments of brick, tile, and pottery, and cubes of opus reticulatum; and on the top of the hill are similar fragments with a little white marble and remains of a brick and concrete wall. Vitale (*op. cit.* 25) found *non exiguum murorum ambitum, atque lapidum congeriem.* The top of the hill is a plateau measuring about a hundred yards from E. to W. and forty from N. to S. At the E. end is a ditch, and at the W. traces of another, while excavation has taken place in the centre of the S. side. It is not very likely that these are the remains of the ditches of a primitive camp. There has certainly been a Roman villa, or perhaps a temple, on the site, the construction of which would probably have obliterated any traces of early earthworks, and it is more probable that they are simply excavations for the purpose of removing building material. Not a trace of early pottery nor of walls in opus quadratum, such as we should have expected to find upon the site of an early city, could be discerned.

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[1] It is, however, given in *C.I.L.* xiv. (No. 221*) among the *Inscriptiones falsae vel alienae*, as belonging in reality to Velitrae, and is published among the inscriptions of the latter city. (*C.I.L.* x. 6608.)

A mile to the E. of Monte Compatri, on the Colle di Fontana Molara, Stevenson observed two passages cut in the rock and lined with opus signinum, which served as water reservoirs. On the surface of the ground above them were fragments of a building of the Roman period. On this hill, near the boundary line of the commune of Monte Compatri, which passes on the E. side of it, was found the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2786.

V.—FROM AD QUINTANAS TO AD STATUAS (S. CESAREO)

(*from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Milestone*).

We may now return to the Via Labicana, which we left at the fifteenth mile. The village of Colonna occupies a lofty situation upon a conical hill, but contains no traces of antiquity except some architectural fragments in white marble, the provenance of which is unknown. The inscriptions discovered in the territory of Colonna include *C.I.L.* xiv. 2769 (a round bronze plate bearing the inscription *Narcisi* [sic] *Ti. Claudi* | *Britannic* | *i supra* | *insulas*, which does not refer to the well-known Narcissus, the minister of Claudius) 2781 (at the casa Passavanti), 2785, 2787. The name Colonna[1] does not appear before the year 1093, and cannot be connected with *Ad Columen* mentioned by Livy (iii. 23. 6), which was near the pass of Algidus (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 162). To the N.W. of it, S. of the Casale Ricci, and about a kilomètre from the railway station, the remains of a villa were discovered in 1890, when the railway was constructed (*Not. Scav.*, 1891, 36).

The cutting under the hill crowned by the house known as La Pasolina produced various fragments of marble, stucco, &c. (*Not. Scav.* 1892, 24,

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[1] In Stevenson's MS. notes *vol. cit.* f. 18) the following is inserted—"Luigi Moscatelli sotto la Colonna dice d' aver trovato un sotterraneo con iscrizioni e monete circa 600, pitture, dei tegoli con bolli. Pare che la vigna sia dal lato verso Monte Compatri." The note is dated Nov. 1894, and signed M. Pasquale.

Bull. Com. 1892, 374; see also *Bull. Com.* 1892, 358, for a Greek inscription found hereabouts) also the following brickstamp (unpublished)

▭ A·QL·ANTONINI·M·S̄.[1]

The Via Labicana, directly after leaving *Ad Quintanas*, is crossed by the modern road, which ascends on the left to the village of Colonna and descends on the right to the Via Casilina at the Osteria della Colonna, (p. 238). The continual cultivation has destroyed all traces of the road for quite a mile, though Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 174) mentions considerable traces of the road in the fields beyond the tomb, and Rosa traces its course below (*i.e.*, N. of) the Colle di S. Andrea.[2] Many pavingstones, probably from this road, are to be found in the vineyard walls, N.W. of the Casale Martini, about the site of the sixteenth milestone. Not far from here, in the Vigna dei Mattei (Collicola or Valle Zitta), excavations in 1890 brought several statues, &c., to light (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 89), notably a bust, believed by Helbig to represent Fulvia, the second wife of Marcus Antonius (illustrated in *Monumenti dei Lincei*, vol. i. pt. 3, p. 573), and an old countryman told me that a mosaic pavement had been found there. The same man stated that in his youth a paved road had been found going from the Casale Martini straight in the direction of Colonna, which would certainly have been the Via Labicana. E. of the Casale Martini are heaps of broken pavingstones recently excavated, which we were told belonged to a road, the pavement of which had been found entire, coming N.E. from the S. side of the Colle di S. Andrea. A path coming from this direction, just S. of the Casale, is full of pavingstones (not *in situ*). If our information as to the direction of the road discovered was trustworthy, and the pavingstones did not belong to the Labicana, then a road from Labici must have fallen into the Via Labicana at this point, possibly going on to the Osteria della Colonna.

About two hundred yards E. of the Casale Martini, just after we have crossed into the territory of Zagarolo, the pavement of the Via Labicana reappears, and may be traced through a ploughed field, running almost due E. for more than a mile, until the modern road from Monte Compatri

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[1] See Stevenson, *MS. cit.* f. 19, where another brickstamp found in a field wall below La Colonna on this side is also given, A NN I AE CO.

[2] Here, in July 1890, Stevenson saw a brickstamp (of which a rubbing is given in *MS. cit.* f. 19).

▭ CREC · PROC

to S. Cesareo is reached. N. of the site of the seventeenth milestone are the remains of a villa; and not far from it, in the Campo Gillaro, the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2827 was found. It is now at S. Cesareo.

For eight hundred yards more, up to the site of the eighteenth milestone, the traces of the road once more disappear, but just before this point is reached, its direction is given by a tomb which, facing N.N.E., probably stood on the S. side of the road. To the W. of this tomb is the platform of a large villa supported by a wall with niches, constructed of alternate bands of several brick courses and of thin oblong chips of selce. The destruction of this villa has furnished materials for the field-walls on the modern highroad. To the S. of the tomb is a large reservoir, much below the ground level, having three parallel chambers, each 4·12 m. wide and (originally) twenty-five or thirty m. in length. To the S.W. of this reservoir, on the S. side of the field road,[1] are the remains of another villa in opus reticulatum, once richly decorated with marble. We were told that bodies (doubtless buried there in later times) had been discovered in the ruins. A mile to the north, W. of the Macchia Carsolese, are the remains of a villa, and some way further N.W., on a hill 253 m. above sea-level, the ruins of another, with a water reservoir to the N. of it. Beyond the site of the eighteenth milestone the line of the Via Labicana is traceable in the fields going E.S.E.; and in the lane going S. from the modern road, 35 paces from it, and just to the W. of the Casale di S. Cesareo, its pavement is visible, running 33° S. of E. Its width is not determinable, but must have been at least 12 feet. Many of the pavingstones show deep ruts. The path going southwards from here, which would join the Via Latina at the pass of Algidus, very likely represents the line of an ancient road (as Nibby thinks—see the article "Vie" in Nardini, *Roma Antica* (ed.

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[1] The antiquity of this road, which goes direct from S. Cesareo into the modern road to Monte Compatri (the Via Maremmana inferiore), is extremely doubtful, though Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, p. 80) maintains it, arguing from its straight direction and the large number of broken pavingstones which were in his time to be found in it. He makes it a continuation of the road from Frascati to Monte Compatri, which probably is ancient, though the modern road winds far more than the old road can have done (see map). In the map of Ameti a road is shown as ancient which seems to run from this point northwards, where it becomes lost. Before this it is crossed by a road from the N. side of Colonna to Zagarolo. There is probably some confusion between the roads that run from the Osteria della Colonna to Pallavicina and Cavamonte respectively, that which we have supposed to run from the 17th mile of the Via Labicana to the 14th of the Via Praenestina, and the path which runs, leaving the deverticulum last mentioned on the right, past Casale la Vetrice to the hill on the W. of Zagarolo.

iv., p. 109). After half a mile a branch (perhaps also ancient) goes off from it to Rocca Priora (probably Corbio).

The Via Labicana now diverges again from the line which the modern road takes, and runs just on the S. of the avenue ascending to the Villa Rospigliosi, and its pavement reappears about a hundred yards to the S.W. of it, running 35° E. of S.

The site of the eighteenth milestone falls approximately 150 yards W. of the Casale of S. Cesareo, and nearly half a mile to the W. of the Villa Rospigliosi. The precise point at which the station Ad Statuas, placed by the Itineraries 3 miles beyond Ad Quintanas, (and therefore 18 miles from Rome), is to be fixed, is doubtful ; but it is probable that it stood at or near the Casale of S. Cesareo, at the point where the roads to Monte Compatri and Algidus diverged to the right, and the road to Praeneste to the left, following the same line as the present road from Rome to Palestrina, which, up to S. Cesareo, is the modern Via Casilina. In Roman times the Via Labicana by means of this deverticulum afforded a route to Praeneste, about a mile longer than the Via Praenestina itself, and rather more hilly. (Half a mile from S. Cesareo the modern Via Casilina (which probably follows here, as before, the line of an ancient road) leaves it and turns S.E. keeping parallel to the ancient Via Labicana.) After about two miles a branch road diverges from it to the N. passing through the valley below Zagarolo to the W., and thence following the modern road to the Osteriola di Cavamonte, where it crosses the Via Praenestina, and goes on by way of Passerano and Corcolle to join the Via Tiburtina at Ponte Lucano. The village of Zagarolo occupies a position of remarkable strength, being built upon a narrow ridge nearly a mile in length, protected on either side by deep ravines, with very steep approaches on the N. and S. It is very probable that the site was occupied by some city in ancient times, but there are no remains of ancient walls or buildings, nor any positive indications of ancient habitation ; nor have we any clue to an identification with any of the Latin cities named by classical authors. The village contains several granite columns, part of a fine fountain basin of red porphyry, and three or four inscriptions (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. p. 740, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2830 sqq., where several inscriptions found in the neighbourhood are also given).

About a mile beyond the turning of the road to Zagarolo the ancient pavement of the road to Palestrina begins to appear in good preservation, just on the N. of the modern road, and continues to run by it for more than a mile until it reaches the chapel of S. Agapito, where it joins another deverticulum—the road which leaves the northern branch of the Via Latina at the Casale Mezza Selva, and, after it has crossed the modern Via Casilina (which is here slightly to the N. of the Labicana), is called the Olmata di Palestrina (p. 272).

Returning to S. Cesareo, at the Casale itself we find few remains of antiquity, except several blocks of white marble. Rosa tells us however (*Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154) that in 1855 a large building was found close to the road, which probably belonged to the station, and that several statues are said to have been discovered, which may (he thinks) have been those which gave their name to it. The Villa Rospigliosi contains several statues and architectural fragments (Fig. 23),[1] including several columns of grey marble; also the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2827, 2829. 2828, which was once here, is

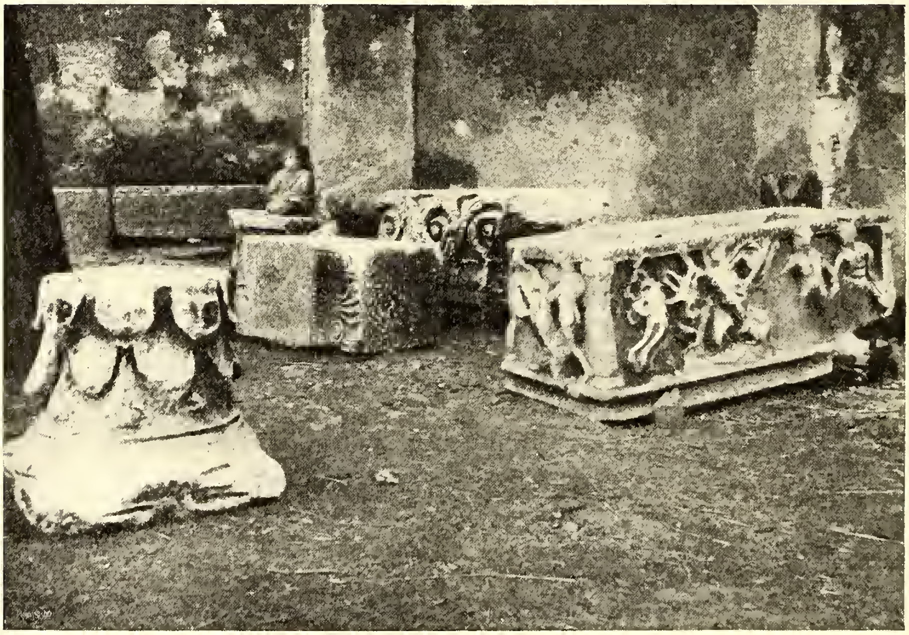

FIG. 23.—SARCOPHAGUS AND ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS, VILLA ROSPIGLIOSI.

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[1] The same photograph (which I took in January, 1900) will be found reproduced in Lanciani's *New Tales of Old Rome*, p. 33.

now lost, and the best specimens of statuary, including a set of portrait busts, have been sold to a dealer.

In the valley below the villa, to the E., is a large nymphaeum of opus mixtum, near which is the base of a column 2 feet in diameter, similar to those at the Villa Rospigliosi, which may therefore have been discovered here (but see below). Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 116) takes this building to be the ruined church of S. Cesareo, which gave its name to the place. It is more probable, however, that the building is a nymphaeum, and that the name S. Cesareo really comes from the fact that this is the site of the villa of Julius Caesar, who, as we know from Suetonius (c. 83), possessed a villa in the territory of Labici, at which he made his will. To the N.W. is a water reservoir against the hill-side, which originally had at least three separate chambers. Ficoroni (*Labico*, 61) states that in his time there were ancient ruins on the site of the Villa Rospigliosi, and that granite columns and other antiquities were found there when the villa was constructed.

VI.—FROM AD STATUAS (S. CESAREO) TO AD BIVIUM (S. ILARIO)

(*from the Eighteenth to the Thirtieth Milestone*).

From the Villa Rospigliosi (to the E. of S. Cesareo) the Via Labicana continues to run in a south-easterly direction as far as the Fontanile della Pidocchiosa, its pavement being *in situ* at intervals. After this it is lost for a while, but reappears again as soon as it reaches the ridge of the Colle Pietrazzino,[1] where its line is marked for some way by a field-wall which is built of the pavingstones taken from it, though in one place the pavement has been left *in situ*, just on the S.W. side of the field-wall. The road ascends slowly, passing the remains of a villa on the S.W. After the field-wall ends it is completely buried under the soil, passing through a thick plantation of broom ; but fragments of selce and brick at intervals, and the conformation of the ground, show that it ran straight on towards the Torraccio di Mezza Selva, descending into the Valle degli Appesi and then ascending again. A few large blocks of selce are seen where it reaches the bottom of the Valle degli Appesi[1]: beyond this again, however, is a thick cane brake.

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[1] It is possible that a path crossing the Colle della Casa Romana in a S.W. direction, and coming from the so-called Via Praenestina Nuova, may follow the line of an ancient road, which would have fallen into the Via Labicana not far from this point, but the evidence is inadequate.

Just to the W. of the Torraccio di Mezza Selva the Via Labicana is crossed, almost at right angles, by a path which probably follows the line of an ancient road[2] from Algidus to Praeneste and the Via Praenestina. None of its pavement is left *in situ*, but a few loose pavingstones are seen at one or two points S.W. of the Torraccio, though none N.E. A mile S.W. of the Torraccio a road diverges from it at right angles, which may possibly come from S. Cesareo (see Gell's map), descending steeply to the Valle della Mola and ascending even more steeply past the Fontanile di Galloro through a cutting to a branch of the Via Latina of which we shall have to speak further on. The existence of many loose pavingstones along the road and at the fountain makes its antiquity certain. It is, in fact, traceable beyond the main Via Latina as far as the Via Ariana, and possibly even further. It is probable that the road descending the valley in a N.E. direction to join the Via Labicana is ancient (see p. 271). At point 391, E. of the Fontanile di Galloro, is a water reservoir of selce concrete with four chambers.

Beyond this point the road which we are following from the Torraccio di Mezza Selva towards Algidus passes a large hut village. The huts are constructed of broom, with foundations of earth and stones ; there is even a small chapel, built in the same style. A little way beyond it are many fragments of selce (besides one whole pavingstone), brick, and some mosaic cubes, and a concrete floor in the path. Further on the course of the road is quite uncertain, and in the forest it is absolutely lost.

The Torraccio di Mezza Selva (otherwise known as Torre dei Marmi[3]) is a small mediaeval castle, almost circular, with the E. and W. ends flattened ; it has four towers, besides a gate tower on the W. side. It is constructed of fragments of pavingstones, marble (one of which, over the entrance, is a fragment of decorative sculpture in relief of late date), and tufa. The stone corbels which supported the upper gallery round the wall are well preserved on the S. side, and there is a *necessarium* of the usual type on the N. side of the gate-tower. The Via Labicana passed close to this castle, the erection of which most likely contributed to the abandonment of the road.

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[1] It is, again, possible that an ancient road ran along the Valle degli Appesi, coming perhaps rom the Via Praenestina Nuova, and following the communal boundary line between Zagarolo and Palestrina, and going on thence up to Algidus. But there is no definite evidence of its existence, and the configuration of the ground is such as to lend itself to the construction of imaginary lines of road.

[2] So Fabretti, *Inscriptiones*, p. 416 and map, Chaupy, *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, iii. 465.

[3] Fabretti (*Inscriptiones*, p. 415) speaks of it as Lo Cimmero, and under this name it appears in his and Ameti's maps. Fieoroni (*Labico*, 37) supposes it to have been the site of the station of Ad Quintanas : he gives (*ib.* 40) an engraving of a ring found there, and (*ib.* 86) of a *glans plumbea* with the inscription FIR. (*C.I.L.* ix. 6086, 40).

Between S. Cesareo and this castle were discovered the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2825, 2826, erected by Romulus, son of Maxentius (who was not yet emperor) in honour of his father and mother.

They run as follows: *Domino patri M(arco) Valerio Maxentio viro claris(simo) Val(erius) Romulus c(larissimus) p(uer) pro amore caritatis eius patri benignissimo:* and: *Dominae matri Valeriae Maximillae nob(ilissimae) fem(inae) Val(erius) Romulus c(larissimus) p(uer) pro amore adfectionis eius matri carissimae.*

Victor (*epit.* 40) tells us that Maxentius at the time that he was made emperor lived *in villa sex millibus ab urbe discreta itinere Lavicano.* It is possible that he is alluding to the locality where these inscriptions were found, the number of miles being corrupt.[1] Near here was also found the waterpipe *C.I.L.* xiv. 2838 = xv. 7889 (*Nicephor. Fl. Sulpiciani ser. fec.*) now in the possession of Massimiliano Bertini of Zagarolo: to the same owner belonged a plain mirror and a lamp with the figure of Minerva giving her vote for Paris, found in a tomb near by, and seen by Stevenson in 1882 (MS. *cit.* f. 2'). Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 19, n. 36) says that a sarcophagus inscribed with the name Nysillos was found here.

Hence the road descended, still in a S.E. direction, ascended slightly through a defile (natural, not artificial), and then descended again to the Fosso della Mola. There are no traces of its pavement except a few loose pavingstones, a little to the W. of the Fosso.

On the W. bank of the stream runs a path, which probably follows the line of an ancient road.[2] Going S.W. it soon reaches the Fontanile di Galloro and joins the road described above; going N.E. it ascends the hill and after rather less than a mile, reaches the modern Via Casilina and crossing it at right angles, falls into the line of the Olmata di Palestrina.

This road is certainly ancient from the chapel called S. Agapito

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[1] Whether these inscriptions were found in the ruins E. of the Villa Rospigliosi is quite doubtful: but if so, it would tend to show that the villa of Julius Caesar had remained a part of the imperial domain ever since his day.

[2] So Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, p. 77, and Kiepert, *C.I.L.* xiv., map.

(where it unites with the road from S. Cesareo described on p. 268) onwards to Praeneste, as frequent remains of pavement *in situ* show, and the S.W. portion is probably ancient also. There are no traces of pavement to be seen, but about half a mile from S. Agapito remains of walls and floors may be seen in the cutting of the road on each side, but do not appear to have been broken into by it, and are orientated in correspondence with its line, so that they are probably tombs belonging to it. To the E. of S. Agapito are two masses of concrete of doubtful antiquity, but not orientated on the line of either of the two roads. A path marked Via Consolare on the military map, which runs southwards from a point near S. Agapito, has not a single trace of antiquity. On the other hand, a path crossing it at right angles, leaving the Olmata di Palestrina near the Colle dell' Aquila, and running eastwards as far as the road from Palestrina to Valmontone (which follows the line of an ancient road: see below, p. 277) is most probably of ancient origin.[1] It may perhaps have run on to Cave and thence, still in a straight line, along the course now followed by the road to Piglio, which has almost certainly succeeded to an ancient road. At the point where the road of which we have been speaking crosses the Via Labicana at right angles, there are remains of tombs in opus quadratum on either side of the latter. The Via Labicana has some remains of mediaeval paving at the crossing of the stream, but just beyond it there is a small piece of Roman pavement *in situ*, besides several loose pavingstones along the track of the road, which soon diverges slightly from the modern lane, until, a little way beyond Fontana Chiusa (which lies close to the twenty-second Roman milestone) it is 70 yards to the S.W. Here the bank of the road is clearly seen in the field, with some pavingstones of the N.E. edge clearly *in situ*. Ficoroni (*Labico*, 32) and Capmartin de Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, iii. 465) both note that the pavement of the road was well preserved in their day; and the latter says[2] (and what he says is still true, as I can testify from personal observation, having traversed the whole distance on foot): "dans tout cet espace qui est d'environ 8 milles . . . on peut la suivre et la reconnoître à son pavé même qu'on trouve entier par tout, hors en deux ou trois endroits, où la culture n'en laisse voir que les pierres éparses, & en quelques autres où elle a été dépavée à dessein récemment comme dans la Vigne Ricci." This being the case, it is surprising that no one, not even Rosa (*Bull. Inst.*, 1856, 154) should have described its course correctly since his day. Kiepert's, and all the other recent maps that I know, are entirely incorrect, as they mark the ancient road as identical with the modern, which runs close to Labico[1] and Valmontone,[2] immediately on the N. of the railway to Naples. The latter follows[3] the line of an ancient road, but certainly not that of the Via Labicana.

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[1] It is to be noted, however, that the remains of pavement along the paths in the district of Praeneste, whether *in situ* or in field-walls, are extremely scanty; and very often the only piece of positive evidence for the antiquity of a road is the statement of some one of the writers on the topography of Praeneste, whose works date back a century or more. Cecconi's work is especially valuable in this respect, and seems to be trustworthy, though not complete in some cases, while in others he seems to admit the existence of too many ancient roads (*supra*, p. 214).

[2] He very probably derived his knowledge of its existence from the maps of Fabretti (1680) and Ameti (1693), who mark it perfectly correctly, which Cingolani (1704) does not. Holstenius (*ad Cluv.* pp. 193 *sqq.*) who died in 1661, knew the truth also.

About half a mile from Fontana Chiusa the road ascends through a narrow defile at the top of which its pavement may be seen *in situ*, on the N.E. side of the modern cart track, for a distance of about fifty yards, the S.W. *margo* being well preserved. After this point it is hidden beneath the soil, but just after passing the site of the twenty-third milestone it turns to run due E. Here there is an important junction of roads. One goes on S.E., following the line to which the Via Labicana has been keeping up till now. Its pavement may be seen on the E. slope of the Colle Treare, but after that it descends and runs along a valley full of alluvial soil, and no traces of it are to be seen. Just before the Fontanile della Cacciata, however, there is a cutting through which it must have passed, and the Fontanile has around it a pavement which contains some Roman pavingstones. Beyond this point, however, none of the paths which diverge from the fountain show any sure traces of antiquity, with the exception of one which, going southwards, falls into the line of the Via Ariana,[1] and, going northwards, crosses the Via Labicana and descends by a steep defile just to the E. of Labico station to the valley of the Sacco (whence it is possible that it goes on towards La Marcigliana and so to Palestrina),[2] and even this retains no traces of pavement, though the deep cuttings made for it sufficiently show its antiquity. To this road belonged the tomb whence came the roughly-sculptured sarcophagus of tufa, found on the Colle Treare,[3] and now in the Palazzo Borghese at Artena (described in *Not. Scav.*, 1890, 325). It is probable that the path which runs slightly to the E. of this and almost parallel to it is also ancient, as it falls into the line of the modern road which runs from Artena to Giulianello and Cori, which from its straightness of line, and from the fact that from it again soon diverges a straight road—first called Via del Buon Viaggio and then Via Doganale, which joins the Via Appia at Cisterna, may be inferred to be of Roman origin.

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[1] As I have already stated, the name Labico has only belonged to this village since 1880, up till which time it was called Lugnano (i.e. *fundus Longianus*?). Nibby identified the place with the ancient Bola, but without sufficient grounds. The site is certainly a fine one for an ancient city, being isolated except for a narrow neck on the W. The rock has been perpendicularly scarped, and on the S. side is honeycombed with small caves, which may have been originally tombs or habitations (Ficoroni, *Labico*, 66), or, perhaps, never served for anything else than pigsties —their present use. Traces of antiquity are however wanting, so far as I know, and the scarping may date from the Middle Ages, for the place is known to have belonged to the Counts of Tusculum in the eleventh century.

[2] Valmontone has similarly been identified by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 369) with Tolerium, one o. the ancient Latin cities, but without adequate reason. Its site is even stronger than that of Labico, the rock on which it stands being isolated except on the N.W. No traces of earlier fortifications than those of the Middle Ages are to be seen, unless the blocks of tufa used in the houses belonged to the ancient walls, as Nibby thinks. He notes indeed that some of them seem to be *in situ*, and he further remarks the existence of some remains of opus reticulatum and of a sarcophagus of the third century used as a fountain basin. The rock on which the place stands is full of small caves, now used as pigsties, as at Lugnano.

[3] Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 77, 81) states that he saw the "Unterlagen" or foundation blocks of the ancient road in the modern one between S. Cesareo and Lugnano, and pavingstones (not *in situ*) E. of Valmontone. There are several in the modern bridge just to the E. of the village, and a large number are to be seen in use in the modern pavement in front of the Osteria a little urther on.

Another road which joins the Via Labicana just after the twenty-third milestone is that (certainly ancient) which leaves the Via Latina at the pass of Algidus and runs due E. past the Casale Mezza Selva (close to which it is crossed by the road described p. 270) to this point.

A third road is perhaps represented by the path which runs southwards to the Via Latina which it reaches at the Fontanile delle Macere; see Chaupy, iii. 463, who however—the passage is not very clear—seems to have traced a road from the Casale Mezza Selva to this point, but, as he says it ran for a distance of three miles, and the distance from Fontanile delle Macere to Casale Mezza Selva is much less, it is difficult to know what he means: he may even refer to the Via Ariana and its prolongation northwards[1] (p. 274). Traces of antiquity are, however, deficient, except for a few pavingstones in the valley just to the N. of the Fontanile, which may have come from the Via Latina, and pavingstones at the fountain itself, which almost certainly did so.

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[1] The antiquity of this road was proved in 1899, by the discovery of pavement *in situ* about two miles from Velletri (*Not. Scav.* 1899, 338). It may be noted that Kiepert (*C.I.L.* xiv. map) prolongs this road to Valmontone, not to Labico—I do not know on whose authority.

[2] See Fernique, *op. cit.* 123, Cecconi, *op. cit.* p. 43, n. 10, as to the antiquity of this last section.

[3] The reference here (as in p. 275, n. 1) is to the hill to the E. of the Fontanile delle Macere, and not, as elsewhere, to the hill N. of Colle dei Quadri.

On the S. of the Via Labicana, a little way N.N.E. of point 364, are some remains of opus quadratum in peperino *in situ*, and a fragment of a large cornice of the same material, also some brick and remains of concrete. These are on the hill now called the Colle Treare, but the Colle dei Quadri is really part of the same hill. It was here that many topographers placed the station Ad Pictas[2] (Holstenius, *Ad Cluverium*, pp. 193, 195), while Ficoroni placed Labici here (*Labico*, passim), supposing the later village (Ad Quintanas) to have been at Torre di Mezza Selva. He states that it was from this place that the stones were brought to build the Palazzo Pamfili Doria at Valmontone, and that it was from the squared blocks (quadri) that the hill took its name. (Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, 77. Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 375.)[3]

This point is, however, only twenty-three miles from Rome, whereas the station Ad Pictas, according to the Itineraries, is twenty-five by the Via Labicana, and twenty-six (by which road we are not told—perhaps the Labicana) according to Strabo; and further it was apparently, to judge from his expression, τελευτᾷ δὲ (the Via Labicana) πρὸς τὰς Πικτὰς καὶ τὴν Λατίνην, on the Via Latina. I have therefore (p. 218) followed the conjecture of Chaupy (iii. 463: cf. also Nibby in the article "Vie" in Nardini's *Roma Antica*, iv. 109), who puts it at the Fontanile delle Macere. The distance from Rome is between twenty-three and twenty-four miles by the Via Latina, and about twenty-five by the Via Labicana.

From the Colle Treare the Via Labicana runs due E. for nearly a mile.

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[1] If this is so, we may agree with Rosa in placing Ad Pictas on the hill to the E. of the Fontanile delle Macere—the Colle Treare. The distance from Rome would then be 24 miles by the Via Latina, and just over 26 by the Labicana. This agrees better with Strabo, but not with the Itineraries.

[2] The Colle della Lite, on which Bertarelli (*Labico*, 16) placed the site of Labici, is to be identified with this same hill.

[3] Two reliefs in marble, of late date, and several copies of the brick-stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2340 were found here in 1878 (*Not. Scav.* 1878, 68; according to which *C.I.L.* xiv. 2987, 3324, 3382, 3399 were also found here. These inscriptions are now preserved in the Palazzo Doria at Valmontone, and are said to have been found in 1789 in a place called La Cavalla; but this is certainly not true of *C.I.L.* xiv. 3416, 3418, 3423, which are placed with them (see p. 279, n. 1). In *Not. Scav.* l. c. the place is called Il Monumento).

It is seen crossing the path to Labico village (which is also the communal boundary),[1] and the *margo* is actually preserved. Beyond, it can be traced by remains of pavement and of the tufa blocks of the *crepidines.* It then turns E.S.E.: the boundary line, which at first coincides with it, soon follows a modern path which keeps some 70 yards to the S. To the N. of the road was discovered the water reservoir known as the Grotta Mamosa, a large reservoir with five arches in the wall dividing the two chambers. A waterpipe was found here bearing the inscription *Iuliae Mamiae Matris Aug. N.* (generally attributed to Iulia Mammaea, the mother of Alexander Severus). See Ficoroni, *Labico*, p. 33, *C.I.L.*, xiv. 3037 = xv. 7880. The site is given as near I Casali in the Vigna dei Saraceni; the name Colle della Forma may refer to the conduit which supplied it, of which Ficoroni says that it was to be seen at the edge of the wood[2] towards Valmontone, running towards a spring called Acqua Ruana. The reservoir still exists in good preservation.[3] It is curious that, whereas Ficoroni states that the pipe was placed in the Museo Kircheriano, it is not now to be found there, while two pipes bearing the same inscription exist at Bologna and one in Venice, the provenance of which is unknown. The ridge of the road is clear, and in some places the pavingstones are exposed, while in others they are *in situ*, but hidden. The name Colle della Strada, which belongs to this hill, refers of course to the ancient road. Ficoroni (p. 32) speaks of a fine piece of pavement existing in one of the Vigne dei Casali—the Vigna dei Buttinelli.

After a short distance the boundary line and the path cross to the N. of the Labicana again, and the former soon turns to follow a path which goes northwards to Labico station and which, if followed southward, falls into the line of the Via Ariana (p. 274). On the W. of this road, on the N. side of the Via Labicana, is a wall of opus quadratum about 10 yards in length crossing the modern path, and just to the N. of it a floor of hard cement, probably belonging to a water reservoir.

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[1] Cecconi (*op. cit.* p. 88, n. 29) would make an ancient road run along this path to I Casali, and thence northward to La Marcigliana. The only objection lies in the steepness of the descent to the E. of I Casali.

[2] The wood bore the name La Cacciata, *i.e.* the covert or preserve.

[3] The measurements are as follows: total length, 17·66 m.; width of chambers, 3·88 and 3·96 respectively; width of dividing wall, ·95; span of arches, 2·40 to 2·62. To the S. of the reservoir, between it and the road, are traces of the villa which it supplied.

The main road now runs on E.S.E. in a practically straight line for more than two miles. Upon the Colle Verdone loose pavingstones may be seen, and at one point the southern *margo* of the road, built of tufa blocks. After a mile we reach a brick tomb in two stories, with a crypt below; it is built of late, bad brickwork. The door, which is on the N.N.E. side, and has jambs and lintel of stone, is 1·65 m. in height by 1·05 in width. The lower chamber, faced with opus mixtum, measures 4·15 m. in width by 4·40 in depth, and the walls are 0·58 in thickness. A little further E. are the remains of a small church (S. Giovanni), the walls of which are full of blocks of opus quadratum and pavingstones. The building has loophole windows, above the last of which, on the N.N.E. side, there is a fragment of a marble *transenna* of the eighth or ninth century; a fact of great importance, proving as it does that the road was in use up to this date, for the church is orientated (as is the brick tomb) in correspondence with the direction (E.S.E.) in which it is running. On the N.N.E. side of the church are the traces of the attachment of some other building, possibly a small baptistery.

A little further E. the pavement of the road may be seen in perfect preservation for 150 yards. It measures precisely 4 m. in width, and the *crepidines* of tufa are 0·50 m. wide. It now reaches the Casale Galeotti, where it turns a trifle more southwards, but soon comes back to its old direction. In the Vigna Galeotti, Chaupy copied a sepulchral inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3009) erected in memory of a freedman, P. Valerius Mahes, who was *magister quinquennalis collegi fabrorum tignuariorum* (carpenters), by his *patronus*. At the site of the twenty-sixth milestone it is suddenly interrupted by a gully of recent formation, some twenty feet in depth, through which a path runs; and a little further on are the remains in concrete of a building which lay close by it, with some architectural fragments of tufa. Paving stones (not *in situ*) are plentiful, and the line of the road is perfectly clear. It now descends to the modern road from Palestrina to Valmontone and thence to Artena, which (at any rate between Valmontone and Palestrina) follows an ancient line, as is clear from the existence of a cutting immediately to the E. of the modern road just S. of the Madonna delli Cori, close to Palestrina. Westphal (*Röm. Kampagne*, 81) states that he saw ancient paving in the road. The cutting S. of Valmontone also seems to be ancient, but further S. than this there are no traces of antiquity. Possibly from that cutting it ran S.E. to join the Via Labicana just below the Colle delle Mura.

On the E. of the Valmontone-Artena road, the Via Labicana ascends the slope of the Colle Pastina. Here there is a piece of pavement well preserved in a modern cart track, and the S.W. *margo*, which is still in existence, gives the direction S.E. by E. Further on there are many loose pavingstones visible, until the road descends into the low ground between the Colle Pastina and the Colle delle Mura, where all traces of it are lost. Here was the site of the twenty-seventh milestone.[1] The road soon re-ascends, being paved with broken fragments of pavingstones, and at the top of the rise turns almost due E. for a little way. Here are the remains of a small mediaeval castle which guarded the road, and further N., of another mediaeval building.[2]

The road soon turns S.E. again; the pavement is preserved, but the stones have fallen out of place. Just before reaching the site of the twenty-eighth milestone it turns to run only a few degrees S. of E., and follows the crest of the Colle Selicione, the name of which, derived as it is from selce, is significant, and led me to search for the road here. To the S. of the road are the remains of a villa and some pavingstones, which may have belonged to the deverticulum which led to it.

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[1] Holstenius (*Aa. Cluv.* p. 196, quoted in *C.I.L.* x. 6883) says: "ad ecclesiam d. Ioannis Baptistae columna milliaria extat litteris ferme exesis, quam ego xxvii ab urbe lapidem fuisse existimo." If, as is probable, he is referring to the church mentioned on p. 277, the milestone he saw would have been either the 25th or 26th—not in its original position. At the Casale del Re near Artena (belonging to Dr. Cesare Caputi), I copied the following inscription from a milestone—

I M P
DOM
MAXEN
MIERRET

XXIII

Imp(eratori) [*Caesari*] *Dom(ino)* [*Nostro M. Aurelio Valerio*] *Maxen(tio) p(io) f(elici) perpetuo* [*invicto Aug(usto).*]

The fourth line I was unable to decipher satisfactorily. The number I made to be 23, but I was told it had been read as 24. The milestone was a marble column 0·34 m. in diameter. I was told that it had been found in the Quarto della Pescara, on the boundary between the communes of Giulianello and Artena, where it had been long in use as a boundary stone. If (as is most probable) it belonged to the Via Latina, it must have been brought from a distance of 3 miles at least to the N. of the point where it was found.

[2] Possibly the remains of the Church of Nostra Donna in Selci, which, however, Cingolani and Ameti place on the N. side of the valley in which the Naples railway now runs, only a little to the E. of Valmontone. In this they are probably wrong. See Holstenius, *l.c.*

Just after reaching the site of the twenty-ninth milestone the road descends steeply by a gully, running about 40° S. of E. The pavement is preserved to a certain extent, and the large *margo* blocks of tufa (0·90 m. in width, one of them being 2·03 m. in length) are in one place preserved on both sides, giving the width of the road at 5·55 m. (about 18 feet). This is above the normal width (about 14 feet), but on steep ascents or descents it was usually increased.

A few pavingstones along the crest of the Colle S. Ilario lead one to believe that a deverticulum ran E. along the ridge, but the main road certainly descended by the gully, and keeps just below the low cliffs along the N. edge of the valley, a few feet above its bottom. Clearly then, as now, the valley was subject to frequent floods.

Less than half a mile further on we reach the Catacombs of S. Ilario, which lie in a small projecting hill of tufa, 150 yards N.E. of the "casello" or railwayman's cottage of the line from Velletri to Segni. The Catacombs are not very extensive, and have been entirely rifled. Some remnants of brick on the surface of the low hill in which they are cut may point to the existence of a church above ground. Some of the inscriptions from these Catacombs are now preserved in the Palazzo Doria at Valmontone (Marucchi, *Guide des Catacombes*, 409).[1] At this point a path comes down the hill from the S.W., crossing the railway at the "casello." It is certainly ancient. Many loose pavingstones lie by it, and it has been much worn down by traffic since the destruction of the pavement, as the wheelmarks in the tufa show: so that it continued in use during the early Middle Ages. On the Colle Maiorano, where many of its pavingstones are seen, it passes to the E. of the remains of a very large villa, and then descends gradually to the Via Latina which is reached after a little less than two miles from S. Ilario. There are no traces of paving except a few loose stones at the top of the descent, but the engineering is so good, the road being carried along the side of the hill with a uniform gradient, that there can be no doubt of its antiquity.

Another path comes from the W.S.W. to S. Ilario along the Valle Materna, which may be of ancient origin, and has in fact been called the Via Latina by De la Blanchère (*Mélanges de l'École Française*, i. (1881) p. 170 and map), who makes this branch of the road diverge from the portion which goes on to Compitum Anagninum about two and a half miles further W. than we have done, about a mile W. of the foot of the village of Artena. There are however no certain traces of the antiquity of this road. The Valle Materna being full of alluvial soil, they would be hard to find without excavation, whereas there is no doubt of the antiquity of the road over the Colle di Maiorano.[1]

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[1] *C.I.L.* xiv. 3416, 3418, 3423.

As we have said, it seems clear that S. Ilario, which is just under thirty miles from Rome by the Via Labicana, and just over thirty by the Via Latina, is to be identified with Ad Bivium. (So Chaupy, *op. cit.* iii. 465; cf. Fabretti, *De Aquis*, map facing p. 90, and Ameti, map.)

Beyond this point the Via Labicana continues to skirt the edge of the hills on the N. side of the valley followed by the railway, and some of its pavement may be traced *in situ*, but not for a long distance, having probably been washed away by floods. There is a deep cutting going northwards through the neck between the Colle S. Ilario and the Colle Cisterna, which seems certainly to have been made for an ancient road. Deep-worn wheelmarks of a later date may still be seen. About a mile further on we reach the end of the valley, which joins that of the Sacco, and the junction of the two railways (the old and the new) from Rome. Here all traces of the road have disappeared. It probably crossed the Sacco and joined the modern highroad close to the mediaeval castle of Piombinara, near Segni station. The name according to Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 52) is a corruption of Fluminaria given to it in allusion to its position above the Sacco. He is probably right in saying that Sacriportus, the site of the defeat of the younger Marius by Sulla, which was followed by the siege of Praeneste was situated here or hereabouts, but whether it was the name of a village or merely of a district is quite uncertain. The castle, which stands on a low hill, dates from the thirteenth century, according to Nibby. It is one of the largest in the Roman Campagna, and its tower is so lofty as to command a most extensive view. It was obviously intended to guard the junction of the Via Labicana and the road from Valmontone, and the passage of the former over the Sacco.

From this point and onwards it is probable that the ancient Via

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[1] De la Blanchère also cites Serangeli (whose MS., *Notizie istoriche della terra di Monte-Fortino*, was written in 1717) as speaking of a road which ascended from La Cacciata (p. 274) to the N. gate of La Civita—the name by which are known the remains of a large circuit of "Cyclopean" walls on the mountain above Monte Fortino (or Artena, as it is now called); but its course is not very clearly described.

Labicana is identical with the modern road, but I have not attempted to trace it further. Chaupy (*op. cit.* iii. 462) says that remains of its tombs and bridges may be seen along the road as far as the Osteria della Fontana (Compitum Anagninum), where the ancient pavement is preserved for some distance, and where an ancient tomb, known as the Osteria della Volpe, still exists (Abbate, *Guida della provincia di Roma*, ii. 414).

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Note.—*Names belonging to the classical period are in italics.*

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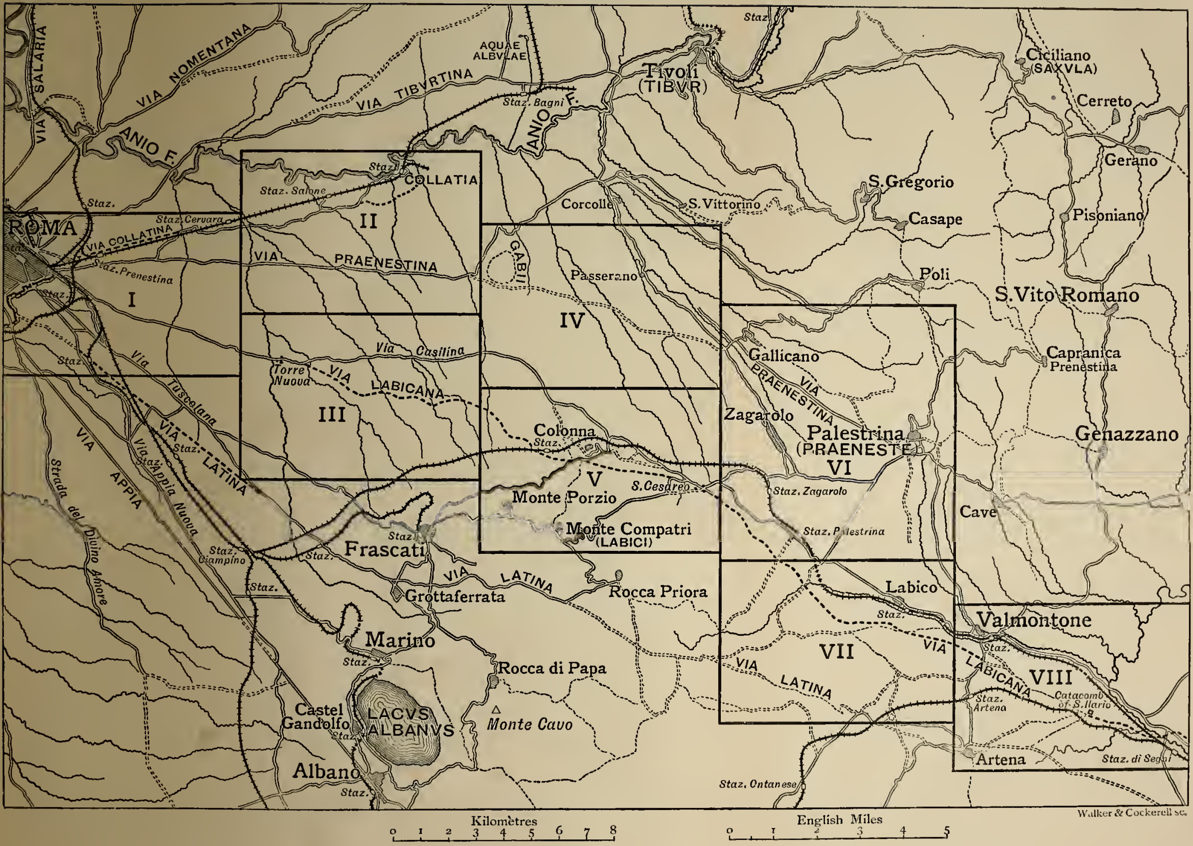
KEY MAP.



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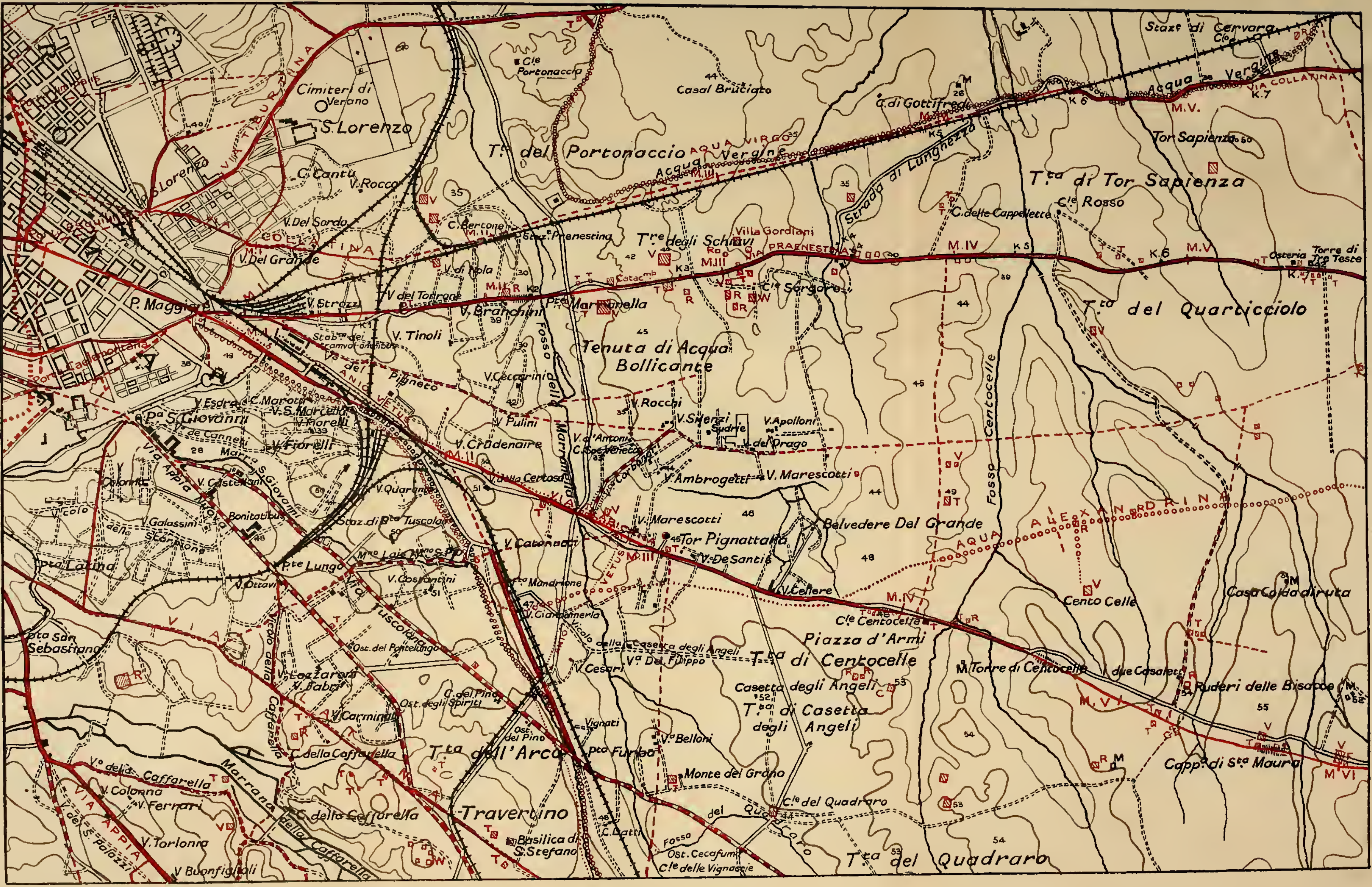
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VIA TIBURTINA
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Acqua Vergine
AQUA ALEXANDRINA
ANIO VETUS
Cle Portonaccio
Casal Bruciato
Tre del Portonaccio
Staz. Prenestina
C. Bertone
Tre degli Schiavi
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Catacmb
Cle Sargore
V. di Nola
V. del Torrione
V. Strozzi
V. Branchini
Pte Mammella
V. Tinoli
Stab.to dei tramvai omnibus
V.o del Pigneto
V. Ceccarini
Tenuta di Acqua Bollicante
V. Rocchi
V. Sforzi
Sudrie
V. Apolloni
V. del Drago
V. Pulini
V. Cradenaire
V. d'Antoni
C. Soc. Veneta
V. Ambrogetti
V. Marescotti
V. Esdra
C. Marotti
V. S. Marcello
V. Fiorelli
V. de Cannetti
Marrana S. Giovanni
V. Castellani
Colonne
V. Galassini
Vicolo della Scarpione
Bonitatibus
Staz. di Pta Tuscolana
V. Quaranta
V. Certosa
Fosso della Marranella
Tor Pignattara
V. De Santis
Belvedere Del Grande
V. Catonacci
Pte Lungo
V. Ottavi
Mo Laio
Mo S. Pio
V. Costantini
Mandrione
V. Ciambamerla
Vicolo della Casetta degli Angeli
Vicolo della Caffarella
V. Cesari
Va Del Filippo
Osl. del Pontelungo
V. Lozzarani
V. Fabri
C. del Pino
Ost. degli Spiriti
V. Carminati
Ost. del Pino
Vignati
Pta Furba
Va Belloni
Monte del Grano
Cle del Quadraro
Fosso del Quadraro
Ost. Cecafumo
Cle delle Vignacce
Tta del Quadraro
C. Gatti
Basilica di S. Stefano
Travertino
Tta dell'Arco
C. della Caffarella
Vo della Caffarella
Marrana della Caffarella
V. Colonna
V. Fernari
V. Torlonia
V Buonfigliuoli
V. di S. Palazzi
Staze di Cervara
C.di Gottifredi
Strada di Lunghezza
Tor Sapienza
Tta di Tor Sapienza
Cle Rosso
C. delle Cappellette
Osteria Tre Teste
Torre di Tre Teste
Tta del Quarticciolo
Fosso Centocelle
Cento Celle
Casa Calda diruta
Cle Centocelle
Piazza d'Armi
Tta di Centocelle
Torre di Centocelle
due Casaletti
Ruderi delle Bisacce
Casetta degli Angeli
Tta di Casetta degli Angeli
Cappa di Sta Maura
M. I
M. II
M. III
M. IV
M. V
M. VI
K 2
K 3
K 4
K 5
K 6
K 7
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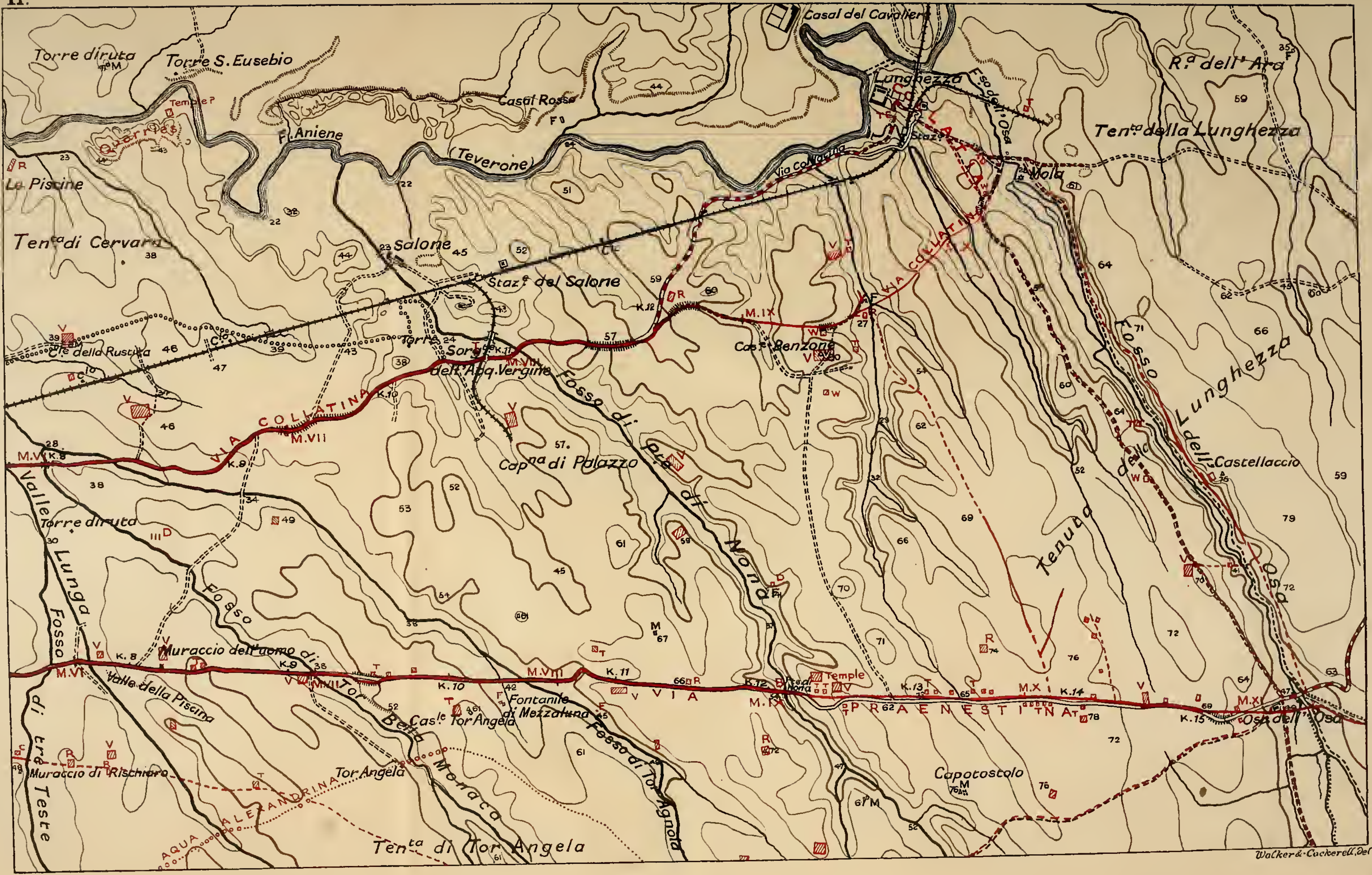
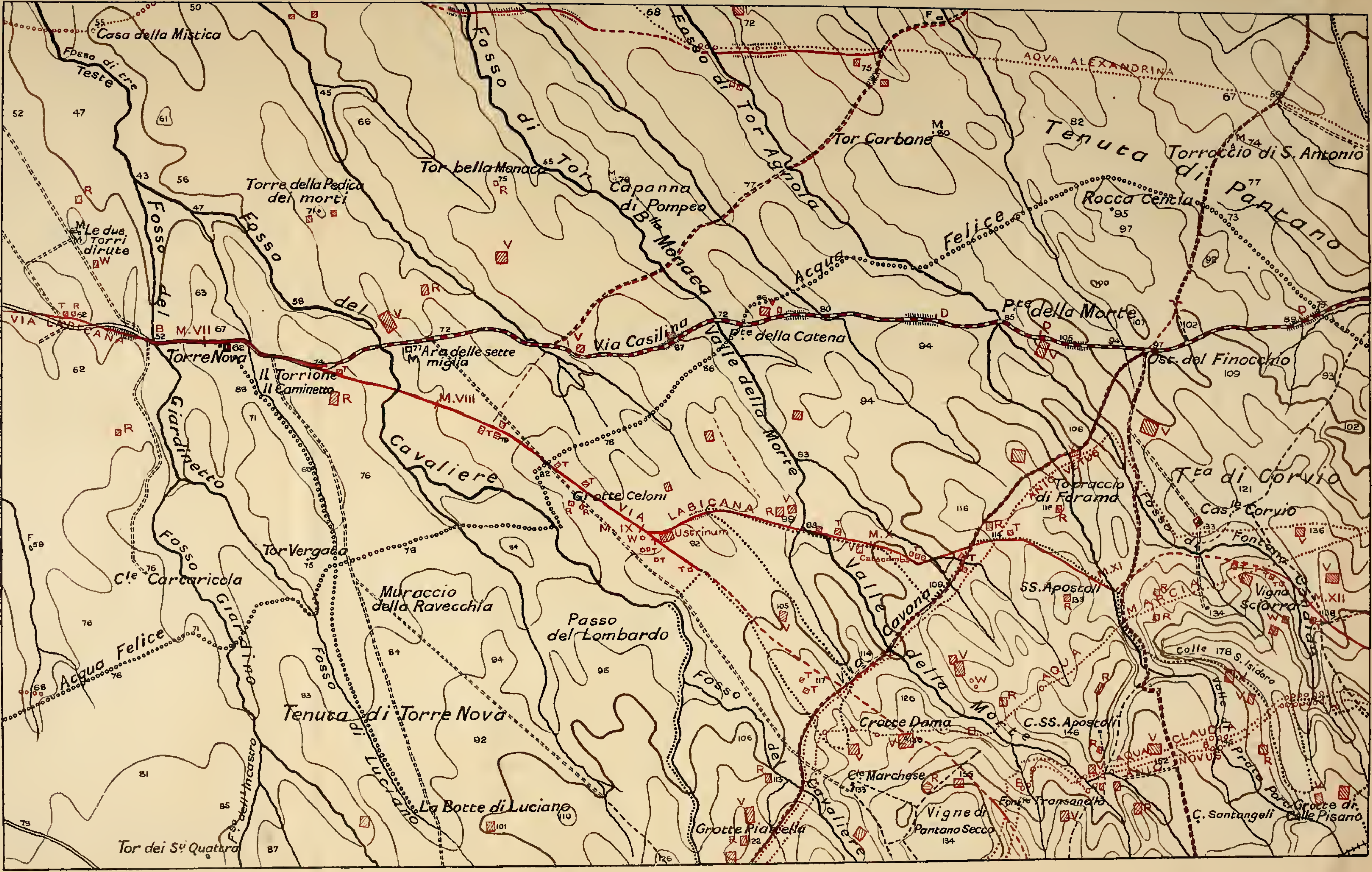
II.



Walker & Cockerell, Del.

III.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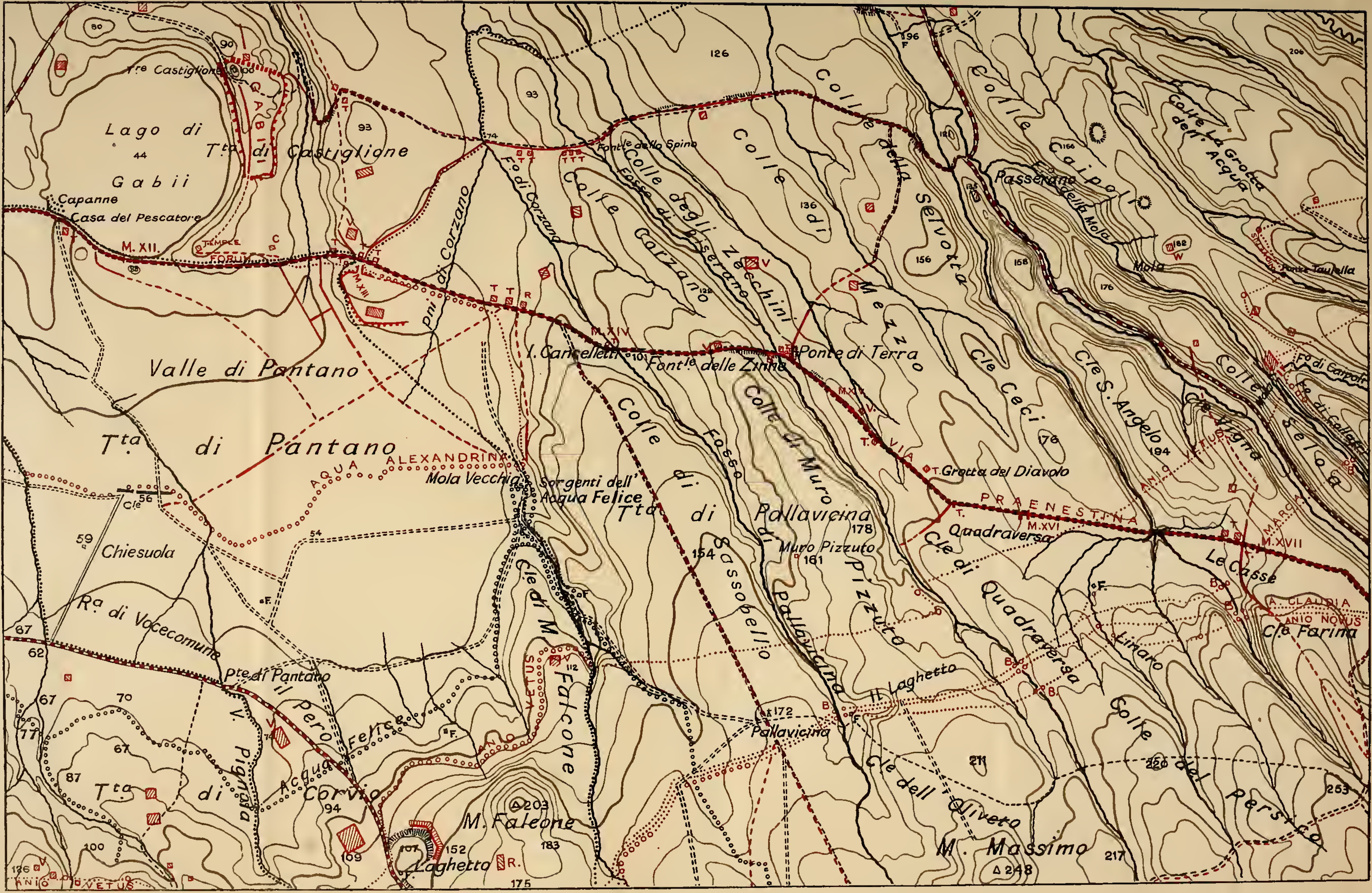
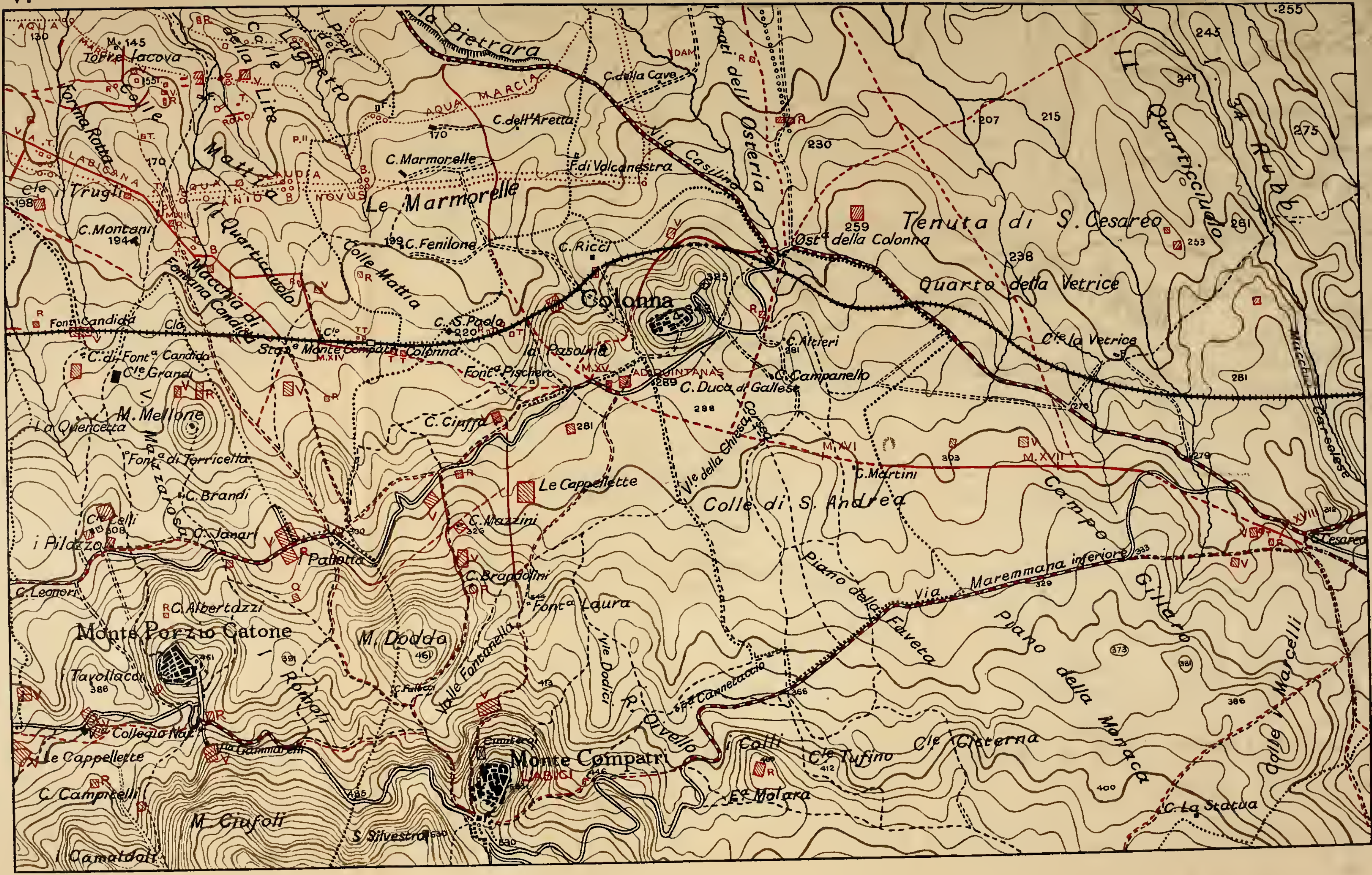
Fosso di tre Teste
Le due Torri dirute
Fosso del Giardinetto
Fosso del Cavaliere
Torre della Pedica dei morti
Tor bella Monaca
Fosso di Tor di B.ta Monaca
Capanna di Pompeo
Fosso di Tor Angela
Tor Carbone
Tenuta di Pantano
Torraccio di S. Antonio
AQVA ALEXANDRINA
Rocca Cencia
Acqua Felice
Via Casilina
Valle della Morte
P.te della Morte
P.te della Catena
Ost. del Finocchio
VIA LABICANA
M. VII
Torre Nova
Ara delle sette miglia
Il Torrione
Il Caminetto
M. VIII
Cavaliere
Grotte Celoni
M. IX
Ustrinum
M. X
Cabacombs
Torraccio di Forama
ANIO VETUS
T.ta di Corvio
Cas.le Corvio
Fontana Candida
M. XI
M. XII
MARCIA
SS. Apostoli
Vigna Sciarra
Colle S. Isidoro
Tor Vergata
Muraccio della Ravecchia
Passo del Lombardo
C.le Carcaricola
Fosso Giardino
Fosso di Luciano
Tenuta di Torre Nova
La Botte di Luciano
Tor dei S.ti Quattro
F.so dell'Incastro
Fosso del Cavaliere
Via di Valle della Morte
Valle Cavona
AQUA
Grotte Dama
C. SS. Apostoli
C.le Marchese
Vigne di Pantano Secco
Font.te Transanella
Grotte Piattella
AQUA CLAUDIA
ANIO NOVUS
Valle di Prata Porci
C. Santangeli
Grotte di Valle Pisano
Acqua Felice
Fosso di Ponte Rotto

IV.



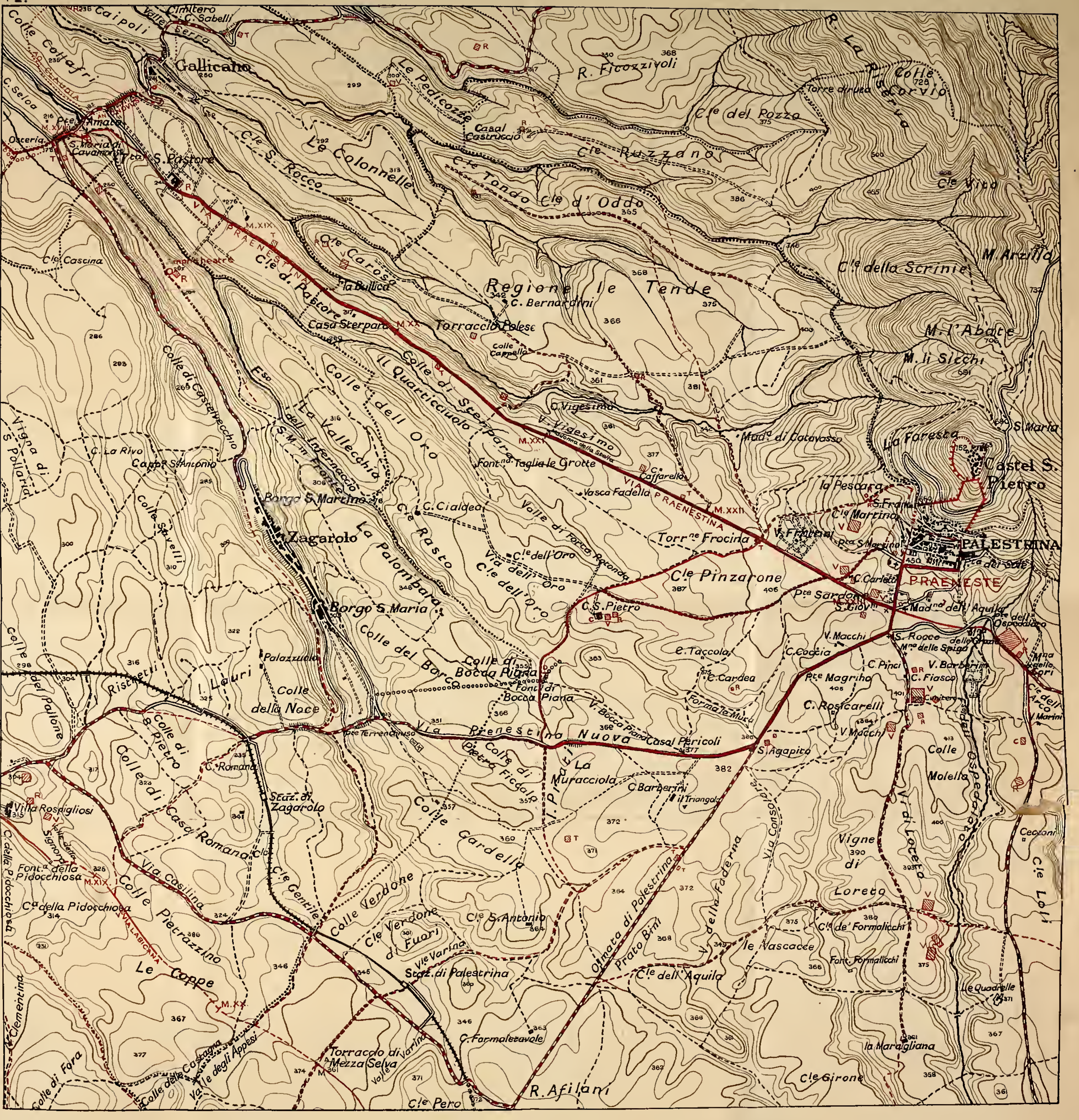
Tre Castiglione
Lago di Gabii
Tta di Castiglione
GABII
Capanne
Casa del Pescatore
M. XII.
TEMPLE
FORUM
M. XIII
Valle di Pantano
Tta di Pantano
AQUA ALEXANDRINA
Mola Vecchia
Sorgenti dell' Acqua Felice
Cle Chiesuola
Ra di Vocecomune
Pte di Pantano
il Pero
V. Pignola
Acqua Felice
Tta di Corvio
ANIO VETUS
M. Falcone
Laghetto
Cle di M. Falcone
Pni di Corzano
Fo di Corzano
Colle Corzano
Fonte della Spina
Colle degli Zecchini
Fosso di Passerano
Colle di Mezzo
Colle della Selvotta
Colle di Passerano
I. Cancelletti
Fontle delle Zinne
Ponte di Terra
M. XIV
M. XV
Colle di Muro
Tta di Pallavicina
Colle di Sassobello
Fosso di Pallavicina
Colle Pizzuto
Muro Pizzuto
Colle Ceci
Cle S. Angelo
VIA PRAENESTINA
Grotta del Diavolo
M. XVI
Quadraversa
Cle di Quadraversa
Linaro
Le Casse
M. XVII
A. CLAUDIA
ANIO NOVUS
AQUA MARCIA
ANIO VETUS
Cle Farina
Colle del Persico
Cle dell' Oliveto
M. Massimo
Laghetto
Pallavicina
Colle Caipoli
Passerano
Fo della Mola
Mola
Colle La Grotta dell' Acqua
Ponte Taulella
Fo di Caipoli
Colle Selva
Cle Vigna
Fo di Gallese

V.

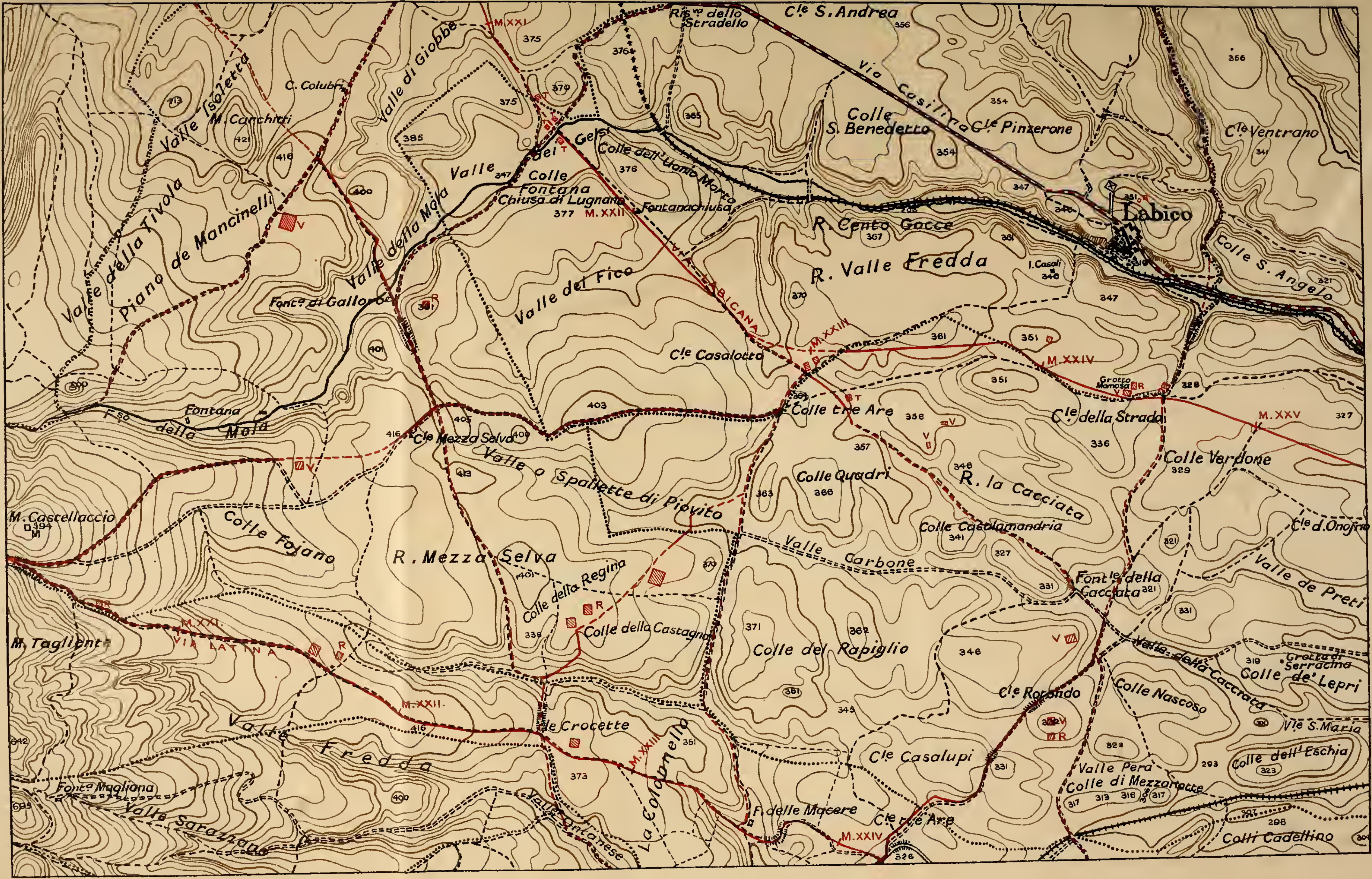


Torre Iacova
Colle della Lite
Laghetto
I Prati dei
La Pietrara
Aqua Marcia
C. della Cave
Prati dell' Osteria
Via Casilina
C. dell' Aretta
C. Marmorelle
F. di Valcanestra
Le Marmorelle
Forma Rotta
Colle Mattia
Via Labicana
Aqua Claudia
Anio Novus
C.le i Trugli
C. Montani
Il Quarticciolo
Macchia di Fontana Candida
Colle Mattia
C. Fenilone
C. Ricci
Colonna
Tenuta di S. Cesareo
Ost.a della Colonna
Quarto della Vetrice
Il Quarticciolo
I 34 Rubbi
C.le la Vetrice
Macchia Carcelese
Font.a Candida
C. di Font.a Candida
C.le Grandi
C. S. Paolo
Staz.e Monte Compatri Colonna
la Pasolina
Font.a Pischera
Ad Quintanas
C. Altieri
C. Campanello
C. Duca di Gallese
M. Mellone
La Quercetta
Font.a di Torricella
V. Mazzarosa
C. Brandi
C. Ciuffa
Vle della Chiesa
Corsea
C. Martini
Le Cappellette
Colle di S. Andrea
Campo Gillaro
C.le Celli
i Pilazzo
C. Janari
Paliotta
C. Mazzini
C. Braddolini
Via Maremmana inferiore
S. Cesareo
Piano della Faveta
Piano della Monaca
C. Leonori
C. Albertazzi
Font.a Laura
Monte Porzio Catone
M. Dodda
Valle Fontanella
i Romiti
Vle Dodici
R. Olivello
F.a Cannetaccio
C. Fallco
Tavolacci
Collegio Naz.
Le Cappellette
V.a Gammarelli
Cimitero
Monte Compatri
Labici
Colli
C.le Tufino
C.le Cisterna
Colle i Marcelli
E.a Molara
C. Camporelli
M. Ciufoli
S. Silvestro
i Camaldoli
C. La Statua

VI.


Colle Collafri
Caipoli
Cimitero
C. Sabelli
Valle Serra
Gallicano
Aq. Claudia
C. Selcia
Pte Amato
Osteria
S. Maria di Cavamonte
S. Pastore
Le Pedicozze
R. Ficozzivoli
R. La Riserva
Colle Corvio
Torre diruta
C.le del Pozzo
Casal Castruccio
C.le Ruzzano
C.le S. Rocco
Le Colonnelle
C.le Tondo
C.le d' Oddo
C.le Vito
Via Praenestina
M. XIX
C.le Carosa
C.le Cascina
Anfiteatro
C.le d. Pastore
La Bullica
Regione le Tende
C. Bernardini
C.le della Scrinie
M. Arzilio
M. l'Abate
M. li Sicchi
Casa Sterparo
M. XX
Torraccio Palese
Colle Cappello
Il Quarticciuolo
Colle di Sterparo
Colle dell' Oro
Colle di Castelvecchio
La Vallecchia
dell' Infernaccio
S. M.a in Fronte
C. Vigesimo
V. Vigesimo
Madonna della Stella
M. XXI
Mad.a di Catavasso
La Foresta
S. Maria
Castel S. Pietro
Vigna di S. Pollaria
C. La Rivo
Capp.a S. Antonio
Colle Savelli
Borgo S. Martino
Zagarolo
La Palombara
C.le Rasto
C. Cialdea
Font.na Taglia le Grotte
C. Caffarella
Vasca Fadella
Valle di Porta Rotonda
M. XXII
la Pescara
S. Francesco
C.le Martino
Torr.ne Frocina
V. Frattini
Pte S. Martino
PALESTRINA
C.le dell' Oro
Via dell' Oro
C.le Pinzarone
C. Carleti
PRAENESTE
Pte Sardone
S. Giov.
Mad.na dell' Aquila
Pte dell' Ospedaletto
Borgo S. Maria
C. S. Pietro
Colle del Barco
V. Macchi
C. Taccola
C. Coccia
S. Rocco
M.no delle Spiga
C. Pinci
V. Barberini
Colle del Pallone
Ristretti
I. Lauri
Palazzuolo
Colle della Noce
Colle di Bocca Piana
Font. di Bocca Piana
V. Bocca Piana
C. Cardea
Forma le Mura
Pte Magrino
C. Roscicarelli
C. Fiasco
Cimitero
V. Macchi
M.na delle Cori
C.le dell' Arco
Marini
Pte Terrenchiuso
Via Prenestina Nuova
Casal Pericoli
S. Agapito
Colle Molella
Colle di S. Pietro
C. Romana
Colle di Pietra Ficcala
La Muracciola
I. Prati
C. Barberini
il Triangolo
Via Consolare
Via di Loreto
Via dell' Ospedaletto
Villa Rospigliosi
Colledi Casa Romana
Staz. di Zagarolo
Colle Gardella
Vigne di Loreto
Cecconi
C.le Loli
C. della Pidocchiosa
Valle della Signora
Font.a della Pidocchiosa
C.a della Pidocchiosa
M. XIX
Via Casilina
Colle Pietrazzino
C.le Gentile
Colle Verdone
C.le Verdone di Fuori
C.le S. Antonio
Olmata di Palestrina
Prato Bini
della Faderna
le Vascacce
C.le de' Formalicchi
Font. Formalicchi
Via Labicana
Le Coppe
M. XX
Staz. di Palestrina
V.le Varina
C.le dell' Aquila
Le Quadrelle
Clementina
C. Farmoletavole
Colle di Fora
Colle della Castagna
Valle degli Appesi
Torraccio di Mezza Selva
Valle Varina
R. Afilani
C.le Pero
la Maraigliana
C.le Girone

VII.


Cle S. Andrea
356
Risva dello Stradello
M.XXI
375
376
379
C. Colubri
Valle di Giobbe
Valle Isoletta
M. Carchitti
413
421
416
385
375
365
Colle S. Benedetto
Via Casilina
Cle Pinzerone
354
354
Cle Ventrano
341
366
Labico
Valle del Gelso
Colle dell'Uomo Morto
376
347
Colle Fontana
Chiusa di Lugnano
377
M. XXII
Fontanachiusa
R. Cento Gocce
367
347
346
361
Valle della Tivola
Piano de Mancinelli
V
400
Valle della Mola
Fonte di Gallorbe
R
391
Valle del Fico
Via Labicana
R. Valle Fredda
I. Casoli
348
370
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Colle S. Angelo
321
M.XXIII
Cle Casalotto
361
351
M.XXIV
351
Grotta Manosa
R
V
326
401
390
Fontana
Fso della Mola
403
405
416
Cle Mezza Selva
409
383
Colle tre Are
T
356
V
Cle della Strada
M.XXV
327
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357
Valle o Spallette di Piovito
413
Colle Quadri
366
363
346
R. la Cacciata
Colle Verdone
329
M. Castellaccio
394
Colle Fojano
R. Mezza Selva
Colle Casalamandria
341
327
Valle Carbone
Cle d. Onofrio
321
Valle de Preti
370
401
Colle della Regina
R
Colle della Castagna
339
Font.le della Cacciata
321
331
331
M. Tagliente
M.XXI
Via Latina
R
371
362
Colle del Rapiglio
346
V
Valle della Cacciata
319
Grotta di Serracina
Colle de' Lepri
381
345
Cle Rotondo
Colle Nascoso
M.XXII
416
le Crocette
M.XXIII
La Colombella
351
322
V
R
323
Vle S. Maria
Colle dell'Eschia
323
Valle Fredda
412
Cle Casalupi
331
Valle Pera
Colle di Mezzanotte
293
317
313
316
317
373
Fonte Magliana
400
395
Valle Sarazzano
Valle Ontanese
F. delle Macere
Cle tre Are
M.XXIV
328
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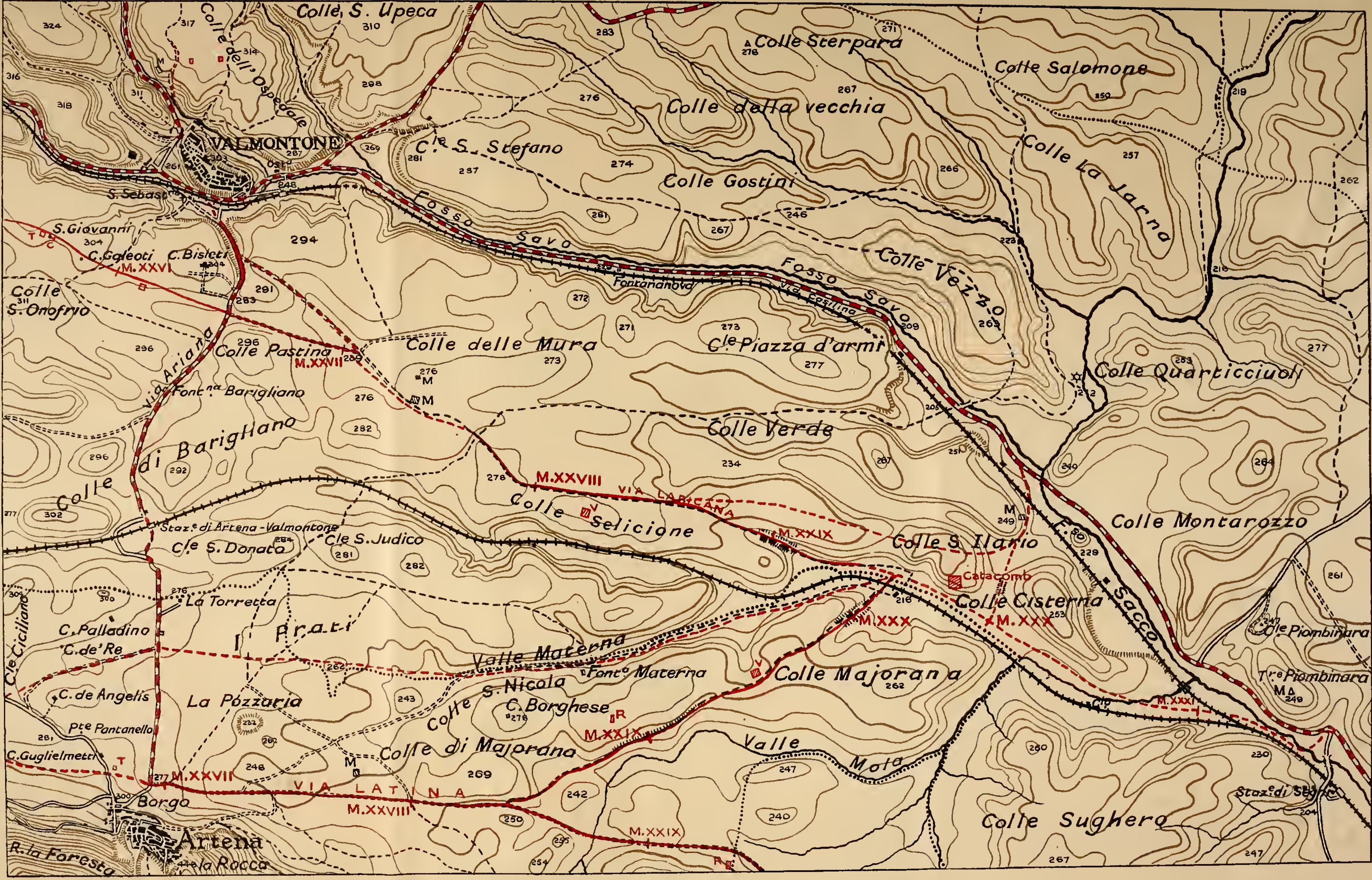
Colli Cadellino
304

VIII.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VALMONTONE
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S. Giovanni
C. Galeoti
C. Bisleti
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Colle S. Onofrio
Colle Pastina
M.XXVII
Via Ariana
Fontna Barigliano
Colle di Barigliano
Colle Sterpara
Colle Salomone
Colle della vecchia
Cle S. Stefano
Colle Gostini
Colle La Jarna
Fosso Savo
Colle Vezzo
Fontananova
Via Casilina
Colle delle Mura
Cle Piazza d'armi
Colle Quarticciuoli
Colle Verde
M.XXVIII
VIA LABICANA
Colle Selicione
M.XXIX
Colle S. Ilario
Colle Montarozzo
F. Sacco
Catacomb
Colle Cisterna
M.XXX
Cle Piombinara
Tre Piombinara
M.XXXI
Staze di Artena-Valmontone
Cle S. Donato
Cle S. Judico
La Torretta
Cle Ciciliano
C. Palladino
C. de' Re
I Prati
Valle Materna
Fontc Materna
Colle Majorana
C. de Angelis
La Pozzaria
Colle S. Nicola
C. Borghese
Pte Pantanello
C. Guglielmetti
Colle di Majorana
Valle Mola
VIA LATINA
M.XXVII
M.XXVIII
M.XXIX
Borgo
Artena
R. la Foresta
la Rocca
Colle Sughero
Staz. di Segni
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